

**A DESCRIPTION
OF THE
ANTIQUITIES AND
OTHER
CURIOSITIES OF...**

Edward Burton





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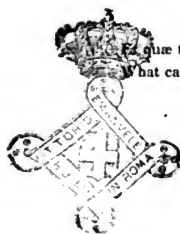


A
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OF
R O M E.

BY
THE REV. EDWARD BURTON, M. A.
 STUDENT OF CHRIST CHURCH.



*Quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?
 What cause so urgent turn'd your steps to Rome?*

VIRG. Bucol. i. 27.

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P R E F A C E.

THE visit to Rome, which gave rise to the publication of the following pages, was made in the end of the year 1818 and the beginning of 1819. The writer passed on the whole four months in Rome, a period, which will be found quite sufficient for seeing all the curiosities of the place, if a person is inclined to be active. The time which has elapsed since returning to England has been partly employed in reading the accounts of modern travellers, and the more laborious compositions of Italian antiquaries.

Some objection may be anticipated to the design of this work, as not sufficiently following any particular system, but being desultory and irregular. In the first place, I must disclaim ever having entertained the idea of publishing a book of travels; not but what many, which have appeared lately, are extremely entertaining, and have afforded me much information: but it was precisely because they were already so numerous, that

I did not wish or presume to add one more to the number.

Still however some work was wanting, which, besides barely describing the objects seen, might throw some light upon their history. The antiquities, the churches, the works of art, the religious customs, and many other points connected with Rome, will bear to be treated of much more at length, than by merely conveying to the reader the impressions which passed at the time in the mind of the traveller who viewed them.

It was with this design that I have directed my attention to publications of an older date than the amusing descriptions of modern travellers. It was my wish to compose a work, which might be of some use to my countrymen who visit Rome, while it was not without entertainment to those who are satisfied with reading accounts of it at home. Whether this object has been in any way attained, others must decide.

Many things are omitted, which a journal of a residence in Rome might be expected to notice; but they are purposely left out, from the desire of describing nothing which I had not myself seen.

It has been my aim in every instance to point out the sources, to which I have been indebted for any information or remark. But those who have been accustomed to note down many references, and to transcribe their papers after they have received various corrections and additions, will make allowances for the occasional omission of such acknowledgments.

In the quotations from ancient authors, a translation will generally be found: where the original words were important, they have been transcribed at length. If it should be said, that this has in some instances been done from my not exactly understanding the passage, the remark may perhaps not be wholly unfounded. But I expect this charge not to be brought against me in any specific instance, without the objector obliging my readers and myself with a translation of the passage in question.

In giving the dimensions of buildings, no uniform scale has been adopted: but reference has been made indifferently to the English, French, or Italian measures. Where the design is to give the relative proportion of two objects, this plan will of course cause no inconvenience: and in copying from any traveller, I have thought it best to give the

measure which he used, (always marking the country in which it prevailed,) without reducing them all to the English or any other standard.

Much of what is in the text would by many modern writers be thrown into the notes: but the other plan has been preferred, both for the sake of diversifying what might otherwise be a dry and uninteresting detail, and because many readers consider it perfectly lawful to pass over the *small letters* which are crowded in at the bottom of the page.

A

DESCRIPTION

OF THE

ANTIQUITIES AND OTHER CURIOSITIES

OF

ROME.

Et quæ tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi?

VIRG. Bucol. I. 27.

THE motto prefixed to this work contains a question, which every person visiting Rome perhaps has not put to himself. That there is something in the past and present state of Rome, which excites a peculiar interest, we might perhaps say a peculiar enthusiasm, in those who read any account of it, seems unquestionably true. Even those who have not read at all, know perhaps more of the Romans than of any other nation which has figured in the world. If we prefer modern history to ancient, we still find Rome in every page; and if we look with composure upon an event so antiquated as the fall of the Roman empire, we cannot, as Englishmen or as Protestants, contemplate with indifference the second empire, which Rome erected over the

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minds and consciences of men. Without making any invidious allusion we may say, that this second empire has nearly passed away. So that in both points of view we have former recollections to excite our curiosity: and the desire is surely a laudable one to compare the character, the manners, the religion, the domestic habits, of the ancient inhabitants of Rome, with those of their present descendants.

Such being the general enthusiasm which is professed by all who visit *the Eternal City*, much censure may be anticipated for some of the sentiments which are expressed in the following pages. The writer of them will be accused of a coldness and insensibility to those venerable objects of antiquity, which ought on every occasion to have warmed his fancy and animated his descriptions. While he is thus preparing an excuse for himself, he does not wish to quarrel with those who, on every topic connected with Roman remains, suffer their enthusiasm to outrun their judgment. Far from questioning their sincerity, when they make their descriptions a series of encomiastic exclamations, he only begs leave to hazard an opinion in opposition to them: and if any account here given may fall short of what imagination had depicted, it will proceed from the writer having expressed not the feelings of the moment, such as the first impression would raise, but the result of repeated visits to the same object. It is undoubtedly amusing to read the travels of a writer, who is buoyed up

by such constant animation, as Mr. Eustace; but the feelings of the individual are not always interesting to general readers: at least I have not presumed to think mine worth the communication; and having found my own opinions so frequently change, and the delight, which the first impression caused, subside into a more temperate and a more qualified admiration, I thought it safer to expose myself to the charge of coldness and indifference, than to that of an overheated imagination, and an universal style of admiration. If this book should ever be read by any person visiting Rome, he will probably not find fault with it in this respect. Before he arrives there, he may be angry at an attempt to lower the enthusiasm with which his classical reading and the accounts of travellers had inspired him. But (if it is not arrogance to anticipate agreement with my own sentiments) he may be inclined to withdraw his censure, after he has seen the objects themselves: and his disappointment, if he feel any, will be lessened, by having been taught beforehand to reduce the scale of his expectation.

It is a very trite remark, that different persons view the same thing with different eyes. This could not be illustrated more pointedly, than by the various impressions produced by the first view of Rome. Mr. Eustace and others have professed themselves transported and overcome by the first sight. They undoubtedly were so. But it surely does not argue a want of feeling and an absence of classical recollections, if others

have entered Rome, suffering more from disappointment than from rapture. This is a case in which writers in giving their descriptions must communicate the first impression. In saying that I was disappointed in entering Rome by the Florence road, so far from acknowledging a want of enthusiasm or an indifference to ancient times, it was because I had suffered my mind to anticipate so much, that I was mortified at not finding those anticipations realised. Those, who are not struck with admiration at the first view, generally suffer not from the want of feeling in themselves, but from the exuberance of it in others. So it is with respect to the descriptions of Rome, and the impression actually raised by it.

Most people picture to themselves a certain spot, from whence the towers and domes of *the Eternal City* burst upon their view. St. Peter's, with its cupola, the immense ruins of the Colosseum, the Pillar of Trajan, and such well-known objects, are all crowded into the ideal scene; and the imagination is raised to the utmost pitch in expectation of every moment unfolding this glorious prospect. The traveller, after feasting upon this hope, and using it to console himself for the barrenness of the Campagna and the uninteresting uniformity of the view, approaches nearer and nearer without reaching the expected spot. His tour-book tells him, that near the Post of Baccano, fourteen miles from Rome, the dome of St. Peter's is first visible. This will be the com-

mencement of his delight. But he still disregards this speck in the horizon, anxiously looking for the happier moment, when the whole city is discovered. This moment unfortunately never arrives. Where that place is to be found in the approach from Florence, which affords such a feast to the eye and to the imagination, I never could discover. The view of Rome from the Monte Mario, a hill near this road, is perhaps one of the noblest and the most affecting which the world could produce. I suspect that some writers, full of the gratification which this prospect afforded, have transferred it in description to their first entrance. But the road itself discloses the city by degrees. Scarcely any of it is seen till within a small distance, and then, with the exception of St. Peter's, there are few buildings of interest. The antiquities lie all on the other side, and are not seen at all. The suburbs themselves are not picturesque; and the traveller finds himself actually in Rome, before he had given up the hopes of enjoying the distant prospect of it.

Had he entered the city from Naples, his feelings might have been very different. This is the direction from which Rome ought to be entered, if we wish our classical enthusiasm to be raised by the first view. The Campagna is here even more desolate, and to a greater extent, than it is on the side of Florence. For several miles the ground is strewed with ruins; some presenting considerable fragments, others only discernible by the inequality of the surface. It seems as

if the cultivators of the soil had not dared to profane the relics of their ancestors: and from the sea on the left to the Apennines on the right the eye meets with nothing but desolation and decay of grandeur. The Aquaducts rise above the other fragments, and seem purposely placed here to carry us back to the time of the Republic. The long lines of these structures stretch out in various directions; the arches are sometimes broken down, but the effect is heightened by these interruptions. In short, in travelling the last twelve miles on this road, the mind may indulge in every reflection upon Roman greatness, and find the surrounding scenery perfectly in unison. From this road too the whole city is actually surveyed. The domes and cupolas are more numerous than from any other quarter, besides which some of the ancient edifices themselves are added to the picture. After entering the walls, we pass the Colosseum, catch a view of the Forum, the Capitol, and other antiquities, which were familiar to us from ancient authors.

Such is the entrance to Rome from the side of Naples; the sublimity of which exceeds any thing that Italy can produce, and of which no description can be exaggerated. The entrance from Florence is in every way inferior. There are a few tombs by the road side, but only association can make them interesting; whereas the Aquaducts on the other road are in themselves noble objects. After crossing the Tiber by the Ponte Molle, the suburbs of Rome may be said

to commence: and the road not being very broad, the houses themselves intercept a prospect of the city. The traveller, if he came to Rome by Perugia, will have seen the Tiber before, having crossed it not far from the latter town, and again between Otricoli and Borghetto over a bridge built by Augustus. The Ponte Molle, anciently Pons Æmilius and Mulvius, is a handsome flat bridge of four arches, with a modern archway upon it, under which carriages pass. This spot is rendered celebrated by the battle between Constantine and Maxentius, A. D. 312, not far from the bridge.

The walls of Rome have a venerable and imposing appearance, fit to form the introduction to such a city. On either side of the Porta del Popolo they have been repaired at various times, and particularly in the sixth century by Belisarius: but probably much of his work does not remain. The Porta del Popolo is altogether a modern structure, having been erected by Pius IV. about 1560. The ancient entrance to Rome on this side was by the Via Flaminia and under the Porta Flaminia, which was built by Aurelian, and stood a little to the east of the present gate. This leads into an irregular open space, which from being the first part of Rome actually seen attracts more attention than it would otherwise obtain. Three streets branch off from it; the middle one of which is the Corso, the principal street in Rome. It runs in the same direction as the ancient Via Lata, but is too narrow to pro-

duce any effect. The traveller will soon be called off from the pleasing reveries, in which he has been indulging upon finding himself really in Rome, by a demand for his passport, and by an order to proceed to the custom-house. The latter inconvenience may be dispensed with by procuring a permission to pass unexamined by a *Lascia passare*, which it is not difficult to obtain. The road to the custom-house leads by the column of M. Aurelius; and the custom-house itself presents a noble remnant of antiquity, having been the temple of Antoninus Pius.

Having thus landed the traveller in Rome, I shall pause for a while to give him some notion of what he is to expect. The Curiosities of Rome may be divided into the Antiquities, the Churches, and the Palaces; an order of classification which will partly be observed in the following descriptions. The Antiquities, as forming the more peculiar attraction in this city, deserve the first place. If a person expects to find here such magnificent remains as he has read of at Athens, he will be grievously disappointed. It is highly necessary to know, that whatever exists here, as a monument of ancient times, has suffered from various calamities. There is much truth in the remark of Pope,

Some felt the silent stroke of mould'ring age,
Some hostile fury, some religious rage:
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal conspire,
And Papal piety, and Gothic fire.

Epistle to Addison.

Nor were physical causes wholly unemployed in completing the destruction. Gregory^a, after mentioning Totila's threat of utterly destroying Rome, adds, "To whom the man of the Lord replied, "Rome shall not be exterminated by barbarians, "but shall consume away internally, exhausted "by tempests, lightning, whirlwinds, and earthquakes. The mysteries of which prophecy are "now revealed to us clearer than light; for we "see the walls dissolved, houses overthrown, "churches destroyed by whirlwinds, and the "buildings sinking from age."

Muratori^b endeavours to free the Goths from the charge of destroying all the monuments of Roman greatness; and certainly Theodoric does not appear to have had any such view; but on the contrary several buildings in Rome were repaired by him, as we learn from the work of his minister Cassiodorus^c. With respect to the pillage, which the different invaders committed, perhaps some exaggerated notions are entertained. A dissertation has been written expressly by Bargæus, which is inserted in the fourth volume of Grævius' Thesaurus, to prove, that the Goths and Vandals contributed little or nothing towards the demolition of Rome. This perhaps is going somewhat too far on the other side. We must recollect, that the principal object of the barbarians, as they were then styled by the degenerate

^a Dialog. lib. ii. c. 15.

^b Diss. sopra le Antichità Ital. tom. i. diss. 23, 24.

^c Lib. i. Var. Epist. 25, 28. lib. ii. ep. 7, 34. lib. iii. ep. 29, 31.

Romans, was to collect money. They bore no professed hostility to the works of art, and a bronze statue was destroyed by them, not from want of taste, but because it could be melted into a more useful form. In the confusion of a midnight attack, and with the exasperation, which naturally follows resistance, some parts of the city would probably be consumed by fire. The accounts of the historians, who were contemporary, or wrote shortly after, are very contradictory; and it is difficult to elicit from them a true notion of the mischief that was really committed. The remark however made above will be of use, while we are consulting these authors, that moveable plunder, not a wanton destruction of buildings, was the object, which actuated the victorious enemy.

A brief review of the events, which accompanied each successive pillage under the Goths and Vandals, will perhaps be necessary to enable us to judge of the injury inflicted. Since the burning of Rome by the Gauls in U. C. 365 or A. C. 388, no enemy had ever set foot within the sacred city. Alaric broke the charm, when he entered it with his army of Goths in 410. This was the third time that he had laid siege to it. In 409 he had been bribed to remove, and upon the promise of receiving five thousand pounds of gold and thirty thousand pounds of silver, besides other valuables, he engaged to raise the siege. Great difficulty was found in collecting the stipulated sum;

and it is stated that some treasures, which had been taken in former wars and turned to sacred purposes, were employed to pacify the invader^d. The second siege was also in 409, but nothing of importance resulted from it^e. In 410 he entered Rome, as was stated, by the Porta Salara. His troops remained in it six days. Cassiodorus asserts, that they committed great havoc there, and that many of the wonders of the city were burnt^f; and in another place he speaks of the great booty which was collected^g. Against this we have the statement of Jornandes^h, that they only plundered, but did not set fire to any building, or suffer any sacred property to be injured. Cassiodorus himself confirms the latter part of this account, so that we may fairly conclude, that the invaders felt some religious scruples in their pillage. We can however scarcely doubt that much injury was committed by fire. That Alaric entered by the Porta Salara is well known, and the account of his burning the houses in the neighbourhood is confirmed by the assertion of Procopius, that the house of Sallust remained a heap of ruins in his daysⁱ.

^d For the events of the first siege, vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 350—4. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 6. Olympiod. apud Phot. p. 180. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

^e Vid. Zosimus, lib. v. p. 368.

^f Hist. Eccles. lib. xi. c. 9.

^g Lib. xii. Var. Epist. 20.

^h C. 30.

ⁱ Vid. Procop. de Bello Vand. lib. i. c. 2. Orosius, lib. vii. c. 39. Sozomen. lib. ix. c. 10. Philostorg. lib. xii. c. 3.

The next siege was in 455, when Genseric entered the city at the head of the Vandal army. Here again we have conflicting statements. It seems clear from all hands, that several ships were loaded with spoil, and sent to Africa. Procopius^k mentions statues and medals; and adds, that nothing which was beautiful in the city escaped him. The bronze tiles, which covered the Capitol, and the Jewish spoils, which had been brought to Rome by Titus, are expressly mentioned. It would seem that the former could only have been taken for their intrinsic value; and we might fancy the same of the Jewish vessels, if we did not know that they were in existence several years after: so that the conqueror appears to have had some affection for the works of art, and would probably not have encouraged their wanton destruction upon the spot. One writer^l, besides mentioning the general pillage, adds, that the most remarkable buildings were burnt. While another says generally^m that the city was burnt. On the other hand we are toldⁿ that Genseric withheld both fire and sword at the intercession of St. Leo. That the Pope gained some favourable terms seems probable: and the truth perhaps is, that though Genseric did not authorize any general conflagration, yet his lawless soldiers occasionally violated

^k De Bello Vand. lib. i. c. 4, 5. lib. ii. c. 9.

^l Nicephorus, lib. xv. c. 11.

^m Evagrius, lib. ii. c. 7.

ⁿ Paulus Diaconus, lib. xv.

his orders, either from carelessness or revenge. The pillage certainly lasted fourteen days.

Between the sieges by Genseric and Totila, Rome probably suffered as much from its own inhabitants, as from any of its invaders; though the damage is in this instance partly to be ascribed to the tokens, that the latter had left behind them of their visit. We have a decree of the Emperor Majorian^o, issued shortly after the retreat of Genseric, by which he puts a check to the system then very generally practised of demolishing the ancient edifices. It is probable, that the citizens, as soon as the Vandal army had retired, found that they had much to do in repairing the damages which they had inflicted; and for this purpose the ancient buildings, some of which were already in decay, were very unsparingly devoted to patch up the private houses.

In 546 another Gothic army entered Rome under Totila: a third part of the walls was thrown down, and there seems little doubt as to what were the conqueror's intentions, when he threatened to level the city with the ground and turn it into pasture; fortunately however the remonstrance of Belisarius made an impression upon his mind; and even a Gothic general thought it more glorious for posterity to allow him the power to have destroyed Rome, than to execrate him for having actually done so. He appears to have confined his devastation to the

^o Novell. Maj. Tit. vi. p. 35.

destruction already mentioned of the walls. Perhaps he afterwards repented of his clemency, and his attention to posthumous fame. For as soon as he quitted the city, Belisarius entered it; and in 549 he was again induced to besiege it, and again became master of it. But it seems certain, that at this time he inflicted no injury upon the inhabitants or the buildings. The Goths began to see, that they were as likely to keep possession of Rome as their degenerate enemies; and though their dominion ceased very shortly after the death of Totila, yet he could not foresee such a catastrophe, when he last occupied Rome; and in sparing the city, he conceived that he was doing a service not to the inhabitants, but to his own people.

Though the superabundant zeal of the Popes has been charged with the destruction of Pagan monuments, they have also had their defenders; and Tiraboschi labours, apparently with much reason, to rescue Gregory the Great from this imputation^p. The Greeks of Constantinople must also bear their share of being taxed with the spoliation of Rome. According to Paulus Diaconus^q, and Anastasius^r, the Emperor Constans carried off from Rome in the year 663 all the bronze statues and ornaments which he could find. This was by no means uncommon with the Greek Emperors: and we can scarcely help

^p Storia Letteraria d'Italia, tom. iii. part i. p. 121, &c.

^q Hist. Lang. lib. v. c. 11.

^r In Vita S. Vitaliani.

reflecting upon the singular vicissitudes of the works of art, as connected with Roman history. Greece, when she submitted to Rome, yielded up to the conqueror all her treasures of art; and the Romans really fancied, that they had some taste, because their galleries were ornamented with works of Grecian sculpture. After the Empire was divided, and both branches of it were in decay, the Eastern, which was longer in falling, exercised its power in despoiling Rome: and probably many statues travelled to Constantinople, which had crossed the sea some centuries before in their voyage to Italy. Even those, which Genseric had carried off to Africa, found their way to Constantinople, when the Vandals were in turn conquered by Belisarius. We know, that many of the most beautiful statues and other curiosities were destroyed by a fire, which consumed the Lausian palace at Constantinople about the year 475*. Some of them again retraced their steps, when Constantinople was sacked by the Venetians in 1204.

From these several causes, to which Rome has been more exposed than any other city, nothing here is perfect. If we except the Pantheon, (and that has suffered dreadful spoliation on the outside,) the ancient remains have been so mutilated and destroyed, that even the name is in many cases doubtful. No small portion of classical recollection is necessary to supply the deficiency:

* Zonar. *Annal.* lib. xiv. p. 52.

and he, who visits Rome destitute of this, will probably form a low estimate of the interest excited by the Antiquities. As a place of residence, Rome is certainly not gay or cheerful: the Palaces, though splendid in their exterior, are dirty and neglected: the works of the fine arts are the only objects, which it is impossible not to admire and be satisfied with: so that whoever leaves Rome with an impression of disappointment, it may be inferred, that his reading had not supplied him with a sufficient store of classical knowledge to enable him to fill up the ravages which time had made. Rome compared with Athens, is like the collection of the Elgin Marbles compared with the sculptures in the Vatican. In the latter collection, besides the usual prepossession in favour of every thing ancient, we have positive beauty and symmetry in the objects themselves: in the British Museum we have rather a record, how far time may go in ruining the works of art, and yet not destroy the admiration which they excite. But still some taste for antiquities, and some classical reminiscences, are necessary, before we can enjoy such mutilated fragments. So it is with Rome. No other city is so calculated to raise and keep up the finer feelings of the mind: no other can present to us so forcibly and so tangibly the histories which we have read with so much delight, or make us sympathize so strongly with the catastrophes of patriots and heroes. Much however of all this enthusiasm is to be brought into Rome, in addition to what is

inspired on the spot. Perhaps the best way to view the city, if we wish to preserve our admiration, is to take a hasty survey of all the Antiquities, and then to pass on. A long residence there is certainly calculated to diminish the interest which they excited: recollection may supply many a deficiency at the first view, and may perhaps increase our enjoyment, by contrasting the ancient with the present state. But recollection is not a source from which we should draw too often: to enable us constantly to admire, something intrinsically excellent is required; and in advising a short residence at Rome, it is not that I undervalue the Antiquities myself, but I am anxious that others should not undervalue them.

One complaint is made by many travellers, and deserves to be noticed. It is, that there are few or no monuments of the time of the Republic. The remark is one which is likely to be made; and the interest which we take in the Antiquities would certainly be heightened, if there were less foundation for such a complaint. It must not however be asserted, that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. If any person came expecting to find perfect remains of beautiful buildings, which were prior to the age of Augustus, he would undoubtedly be disappointed: but I question, whether in expressing this disappointment, he does not also betray his own ignorance of history. The works of the Romans in the early ages of their nation were wonderful for their solidity and strength, but

there seems no reason to suppose that much taste or elegance was displayed.

When the Gauls burnt Rome, U. C. 365, it may be concluded that few edifices escaped : so that in looking for any works of the Republic, we must confine our research between the years 365 and 723, when the Republic terminated. We might mention four successive periods, in each of which the city must have assumed a different appearance from what it did in the age succeeding: 1. From the foundation to the burning of Rome by the Gauls, U. C. 365. 2. From 365 to 723, when the reign of Augustus commenced. 3. From 723 to 817, (or A. D. 64,) when the city was burnt in the time of Nero; when out of the fourteen regions into which it was divided, only four remained untouched, three were entirely consumed, and seven survived in part. 4. From A. D. 64 to 546, (U. C. 1300,) when Totila entered it, as Alaric and Genseric had done before him. That a great alteration took place in the appearance of Rome during these periods, cannot be denied; but, on the other hand, we must not conclude, that no buildings survived each successive shock, or that nothing still remains to present us a monument even of the first period.

Livy tells us^t, that when the city was rebuilt after the expulsion of the Gauls, it was laid out in a very irregular manner. “The city was begun to be built without any order. The public furnished tiles . . . the great haste made

^t Lib. v. c. ult.

“ them careless of forming the streets in straight
 “ lines, while without deciding what belonged to
 “ themselves or their neighbours, they built on
 “ the empty spaces. This is the reason, that the
 “ old sewers (*cloacæ*), which at first were carried
 “ through the public way, now pass under private
 “ houses in every direction; and the plan of the
 “ city more resembles one, which had been sud-
 “ denly seized, than one, which had been regu-
 “ larly parcelled out.” He says in another place^a,
 that the new city was built in a year. Tacitus
 also ^x talks of the houses being built in no order
 and at random, and of the streets being exces-
 sively winding and irregular. Suetonius^y com-
 plains of the “ deformity of the buildings, and
 “ the narrowness and windings of the streets.”
 In confirmation of which remark other authorities
 might be quoted. This however might only
 apply to the streets and houses: the temples and
 public buildings *may* at the same time have been
 magnificent, but there is not the least evidence
 that they were so. In the second year after the
 destruction, “ the Capitol was underbuilt with
 “ square stones,” as we learn from Livy^z; and he
 adds, that it was a remarkable work, even in the
 magnificence of his own day. But this was
 rather a work of defence than of ornament. As
 to private buildings, the house of Lepidus is said
 by Pliny^a to have been the handsomest in Rome
 in the year 676 U. C.; and in another place^b he

^a Lib. vi. c. 4. ^x Annal. lib. xv. c. 43. ^y Vita Neronis
 c. 38. ^z Lib. vi. c. 4. ^a Lib. xxxvi. c. 24. ^b Ibid. c. 8.

tells us, that the ornaments consisted of Numidian marble, which was used in large blocks, but not for columns. But the orator Crassus had a magnificent house a few years before this, U. C. 662, as we learn from the same Pliny^c, and Valerius Maximus^d; “ He had erected four
“ columns of Hymettian (Athenian) marble in his
“ hall, when as yet there were no marble pillars
“ in any public building.” As early however as U. C. 607, Q. C. Metellus had built a temple of marble, as we learn from Velleius^e, though perhaps there were no pillars of marble in it. The same Metellus built a portico, which was afterwards the portico of Octavia, and must have given a new impulse to taste and luxury by the vast collection of statues, which he brought from Greece. Scipio Nasica built a portico in the Capitol, about U. C. 594, and Cn. Octavius did the same in the Circus; after which, as Velleius says^f, “ private luxury soon followed public magnificence.” The first instance of a gilded roof was in the Capitol, when Mummius was censor, U. C. 612, after the destruction of Carthage^g.

The Romans certainly were not naturally a people of taste. They never excelled in the fine arts; indeed scarcely the name of any Roman sculptor or painter of celebrity has been handed down to us. Their own writers invariably allow, that they were indebted to Greece for every

^c Lib. xvii. c. 1.

^d Lib. ix. c. 1.

^e Lib. i.

^f Lib. ii.

^g Lib. xxxiii. c. 18.

thing which was elegant in the arts. In architecture, the only order which has any pretensions to claim a Roman origin is the Composite, which is certainly less pleasing than the others: and of this the earliest specimen in Rome is on the arch of Titus. We know, that Greek marble was not used in their buildings till the close of the Republic: and as the connection with Greece began as early as the second Punic war, and the triumphs of Flamininus and Mummius, in 559 and 608, made the Romans acquainted with the productions of Grecian taste, it is natural, that they should also have imported their marble from thence, if they had been engaged in buildings of any particular magnificence. Pliny says^b, that the custom of sawing marble was not introduced into Italy before the time of Augustus. Though we can scarcely credit this statement, and we have certainly some proofs to the contrary, we are bound to believe, that it had not been long practised in Rome. The same author tells usⁱ, that the quarries at Luna, (now Carara,) which he decides to produce a finer marble than that of Paros, were not opened long before his time. We must however give a little latitude to this expression: for he himself tells us^k, that in the time of J. Cæsar, Mamurra had ornamented his house with marble from Luna. The boast of Augustus, that he had found Rome of brick, and left it of marble, is of course to be taken in some

^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.ⁱ Lib. xxxvi. c. 4.^k Ibid. c. 7.

respects as an imperial hyperbole : but the alteration, which took place in his reign, must have been very perceptible, or he would not have hazarded a comparison with the times of republican liberty, when he had so many safer grounds for boasting.

The monuments, which remain to us of an age prior to the Augustan, are, as was observed, of great solidity and strength. The Cloaca Maxima is one of the most wonderful works, which any people ever constructed. It seems indeed almost incredible, that in the time of Tarquinius Priscus, only 150 years from the foundation of the city, such a work could have been performed. If we follow the opinion of some chronologists, who shorten the reigns of the kings, the city had not existed nearly so many years, when this Cloaca was begun. But there is great mystery and confusion in the early history of Rome, particularly in that of the kings. I have sometimes been inclined to think, that there was a city here before the time of Romulus, and that his subjects did not actually begin from nothing. Virgil might perhaps be quoted as countenancing this opinion: when Evander is shewing his city to Æneas, he says,

Hæc duo præterea disjectis oppida muris
Reliquias veterumque vides monumenta virorum :
Hanc Janus pater, hanc Saturnus condidit Urbem,
Janiculum huic, illi fuerat Saturnia nomen.

Æn. viii. 355.

The Romans and the Tuscans do not claim a common origin, and yet there is a great resemblance in the strength and solidity of their works. Veii, which was a Tuscan town, was only ten miles from Rome: and it is not likely, that this warlike and highly civilized people (for we must allow them to have been so) would have taken no advantage of the seven hills, which were so near to their territory, if not in it. Great dissension is to be found amongst the Roman writers themselves, as to the date of the foundation of Rome: none however ascribe it to the Tuscans, unless we take the Aborigines to be Tuscans, which is not improbable. We must bear in mind, that history mentions two migrations of Greek colonies into Italy, the first of which took place about 600 years before the second. By the first I mean that of the Pelasgi, who came from Arcadia and from Attica¹, and the Pelasgi are called Tyrrhenians, that is, Tuscans, by several writers^m. The second migration was that mentioned by Herodotusⁿ, as taking place in the days of Lycurgus and Thales; so that we have good reason to carry back the civilization of the Tuscans to a remote period. We should also recollect, that while Greece was convulsed with constant wars, the Tuscans seem

¹ Vide Dion. Hal. lib. i. c. 11, 13, 16, &c.

^m Thucyd. lib. iv. c. 109. Plutarch de Virt. Mul. Dion. Hal. Antiq. lib. i. et xiii.

ⁿ Lib. i. c. 94.

to have enjoyed long continued periods of peace. Of their progress in the arts we have not so many specimens, as is sometimes supposed : for the vases, which are so generally called Etruscan, are undoubtedly Grecian, and come almost all from the kingdom of Naples. If the conjecture of Father Paoli be true, that the temples at Pæstum are the work of Tuscans at a period long antecedent to the edifices of Greece, we have indeed a noble monument of their magnificence, though perhaps not of the elegance of their taste. The walls of Cortona also present a specimen of solidity, which seems to defy the lapse of ages^o.

Many make Æneas himself to have founded a city on the Palatine hill ; and chronologists lay down four hundred and thirty-two years between Æneas and Romulus^p. We must not however indulge in unfounded conjecture ; nor is it fair to ascribe such a work as the Cloaca Maxima to the Tuscans, when history unequivocally represents it as the work of Tarquinius Priscus. Pliny^q speaks of its prodigious strength, and of the wonder of its having lasted seven hundred years. How much more ought we to be surprised, when we can add nearly eighteen hundred years more to its duration ! The stones employed in the arch are

^o A friend informs me, that he found the walls of Volterra to be composed of hewn masses from three to six tons weight, piled one upon another without cement.

^p These opinions may be seen in the third volume of Grævius' *Thesaurus*.

^q Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

of an enormous size, and placed together without any cement. There are three concentric rows, one above the other. The height is said to have been sufficient for a boat loaded with hay to pass under it: it is reckoned now at eighteen Roman palms, and the width is the same. Marlianus says that he measured it, and found the width sixteen feet. According to Livy¹, the original object of the Cloaca Maxima was to carry off the overflowings of the Tiber and other smaller streams: "As the places near the Forum and other valleys between the hills did not easily carry off the water from the level ground, he drained them by carrying sewers from a higher level into the Tiber." Dionysius of Halicarnassus says the same thing; and to give an idea of the immensity of the work, he adds, that the Cloacæ having been neglected for some time, it required one thousand talents to clear them. After the burning of Rome by the Gauls, the streets were rebuilt without regard to the direction of the Cloacæ; so that many of the houses were over them, as Livy tells us in the passage already quoted, p. 19. Theodoric undertook the repair of the Cloacæ, and the description of them in the barbarous Latin of Cassiodorus is worth recording. "Quæ tantum visentibus conferunt stuporem, ut aliarum civitatum possint miracula superare. Videas illic fluvios quasi montibus concavis clausos per ingentia *ligna*² decurrere. Videas structis navi-

¹ Lib. i. c. 38.² Lib. iii. Var. Epist. 30.³ This word is evidently corrupt.

“ bus per aquas rapidas non minima sollicitudine
 “ navigari, ne præcipitato torrenti marina possint
 “ naufragia sustinere. Hinc, Roma, singularis
 “ quanta in te sit potest colligi magnitudo! Quæ
 “ enim urbium audeat tuis culminibus conten-
 “ dere, quando nec ima tua possunt similitudi-
 “ nem reperire?” It is now upwards of two thou-
 sand years since this work was constructed; in
 which interval Rome has been rebuilt several
 times, and a vast accumulation of soil formed: it
 still however exists, and is to all appearance as
 firm as on the first day of its foundation. A view
 may be obtained of it at its mouth, where it flows
 into the Tiber, a little below the Ponte Rotto;
 and another portion of it may be seen near the
 Arch of Janus.

Another instance of the durability of Roman
 works may be seen in the Mamertine Prisons, on
 the descent of the Capitol towards the Forum.
 These are of great antiquity, and built like the
 Cloacæ of large uncemented stones. The founder
 was Ancus Martius, as we learn from Livy^a, who
 speaking of that king says, “ he made a prison in
 “ the middle of the city, overlooking the Forum.”
 Servius Tullius increased them, whence they were
 sometimes called Tullian. Varro says^x, that the
 part added by this latter king was under ground:
 and from two passages in Livy we may perhaps
 collect the same thing. Speaking of Pleminius,
 who was accused of high crimes, both civil and

^a Lib. i. c. 33.

^x De Ling. Lat. l. iv.

religious, he tells us¹, that he and his companions were thrown into prison; and at the same time he adduces the authority of Clodius Licinius, as stating that he was afterwards put into the *Tullianum*. This was U. C. 549. Livy seems afterwards to have forgotten, that he had thus anticipated the history of Pleminius upon the authority of Licinius; for he repeats the same story over again², where he informs us that Pleminius, being farther accused of a conspiracy to set fire to the city, was put into *the lower prison*, and killed. This was U. C. 559. These two passages clearly identify the lower prison with the Tullianum. Near the entrance were the Scalæ Gemoniæ, by which the culprits were dragged to the prison, or out of it to execution. A more horrible place for the confinement of a human being can scarcely be imagined. There are two apartments, one above the other, to which there was no entrance, except by a small aperture in the upper roof; and a similar hole in the upper floor led to the cell below. There was no staircase to either. The upper prison is twenty-seven feet long by twenty wide; the lower, which is elliptical, is twenty by ten. The height of the former is fourteen feet, of the latter seven. These served as the state prisons; and only persons of distinction had the privilege of occupying them. Jugurtha was among the number. Sallust³ describes the place thus: "In the prison, called Tullian, when you have

¹ Lib. xxix. c. 22.² Lib. xxxiv. c. 44.³ De Bello Cat.

“ ascended a little, there is a place on the left,
 “ sunk about twenty feet: it is surrounded by
 “ walls on all sides; and above is a room vaulted
 “ with stone, but from uncleanness, darkness,
 “ and a foul smell, the appearance of it is disgusting and terrific.”

Some however, and particularly Baronius^b, have raised a doubt, whether the place now shewn at the foot of the Capitol is really the prison which was constructed by Ancus Martius, and called Tullian. The strongest evidence in their favour is a passage from Pliny^c, where he says, “ that the Temple of Piety was built in that
 “ part of the prison (*in ea carceris sede*) where is
 “ now the Theatre of Marcellus.” The whole force of these words lies in the assumption, that there was only one prison in Rome, and that Pliny must therefore be speaking of the Tullian prison. Juvenal certainly says, in the style of a patriotic antiquary,

Felices proavorum atavos, felicia dicas
 Sæcula, qui quondam sub regibus atque Tribunis
 Viderunt *uno contentam carcere Romam*.

SAT. iii. 312.

But how long one prison was found sufficient for the number of criminals does not appear; and it may well be doubted, whether in the year of Rome 604, (of which Pliny is speaking,) there were not many more candidates for imprison-

^b Vid. Martyrolog. ad 14 Mart. p. 103, &c.

^c Lib. vii. c. 36.

ment, out of a population of more than four hundred thousand souls^c, than what one jail would contain. It has been already stated, that the Tullian prison was only used for state criminals: but the person, whose story Pliny is telling, was an humble and obscure plebeian woman (*humilis in plebe ideoque ignota*): and from the way in which she was treated, her offence seems to have been a common one. I conclude, therefore, that he was speaking of another prison, which was afterwards destroyed. Appius Claudius the decemvir had a prison constructed on purpose for plebeian offenders; but the restriction was violated in his own person, as he was confined in it himself. Tradition makes the Church of S. Nicola in Carcere to stand upon the site of this prison; and as this is not far from the Theatre of Marcellus, it is not improbable that this is the one of which Pliny speaks. Some ancient columns may still be seen in this church, and antiquaries make out that there were three temples within or close to it. We have another proof that Pliny was speaking of the prison of Claudius, and not of the Tullian, as Publius Victor, in describing the ninth region of the city, mentions the Theatre of Marcellus and the Prison of Claudius close together. At all events the passage in Livy is much more decisive, where he says, that Ancus' prison was "in the middle of the city, overlooking the Forum." And if we cannot say that

^c The census of 683 returned 450,000.

the building now shewn is near the Theatre of Marcellus, still more difficult would it be to prove that a prison near that theatre would overlook the Forum. Another argument adduced by the opposite party is an inscription upon the front of what is shewn as the Mamertine Prison: we there read, C. VIBIVS. C. F. RVFINVS. M. COCCEIV . . . COS. EX. S. C. These persons were consuls, U. C. 775, in the time of Tiberius. But surely this inscription cannot prove, that Vibius and Cocceius (Nerva) were the original contrivers of this building: the slightest inspection of it will convince us that it was much older than their time, and that the consuls mentioned only made some alteration or addition to it.

The origin of the name Mamertine is not certain: nor can I find any ancient author who uses it. In the acts of the early martyrs the prison is frequently mentioned under this title, as may be seen in Baronius. Pancirolli deduces it from the family Mamertia, which, according to Plutarch, traced itself up to Numa. That king was said to have had four sons, from whom four illustrious families were descended, Pomponia, Pinacia, Calpurnia, and Mamercia. In process of time the name of Mamercus was changed to Mamertinus; and under the emperors we find several persons of this name high in office, such as consuls, prætors, &c. It is possible that one of these persons may have repaired the prison, and given it his name; as P. Victor and Sextus Rufus mention a Schola Mamertina and baths of the

same name. Had the name occurred in ancient authors, I should rather have derived it from the Mamertines, a people of Campania. We are told^d that they were so called from *Mamers*, which in their language signified Mars : and this might lead us to imagine, that the founder Ancus Martius, or Mamertius, had left them this name. But I allude to the history of Polybius^e, where he tells us, that some Mamertine soldiers, who were in garrison at Messana in Sicily, took illegal possession of the town. Shortly after, the Roman garrison in Rhegium followed their example, and called in some of the Mamertines from Messana to support them. When the first Punic war was over, the Romans besieged Rhegium, took it, and carried more than three hundred prisoners to Rome. Polybius adds, that they were publicly executed in the Forum ; but it is not improbable, that while they treated the Roman soldiers thus, to give a proof of their justice, they kept the Mamertines in prison, as a warning to the other people of Italy, how to conduct themselves under similar circumstances.

Tradition says, that St. Peter was confined here ; which, considering the accusation against him, is not very likely. The pillar is shewn to which he was fastened, and also a well of water, which appeared miraculously for the baptism of his gaolers, Processus and Martinianus, and forty-seven companions. The prison itself, with a small

^d Vid. Diod. Sic. lib. xxi. c. 13. and Festus, voce *Mamers*.

^e Lib. i. c. 7.

chapel in front, is now consecrated to him ; and over it is the Church of S. Guiseppe de' Falegnami, built in 1539^f.

Not far from these prisons, on the other side of the steps leading to the Forum, some portion of the ancient Tabularium, or Record-office, may be seen. This now serves as a foundation to the Palazzo Senatorio ; and in an enumeration of the more ancient remains, such an inconsiderable fragment would seem hardly worthy of notice. I mention it only as another example of that massy style of architecture which the Romans adopted, and because every thing connected with the ancient Capitol is interesting. It is however of great antiquity, this part having been built U. C. 367, as foundations for the Capitol. Livy mentions it^g, and says, that it was a remarkable work, even in the magnificence of his day. Five rows of stone still remain, many of which are five and a half palms long. In the interior there is a chamber vaulted with several arches and a Doric frieze. An inscription was found near here, and is still preserved in the palace, which commemorates the founder of the whole building :

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM
ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM
COERAVIT

^f The Abate Cancellieri published a work upon these prisons in 1788.

^g Lib. vi. c. 4.

These three works, the Cloaca Maxima, the Prison, and the Tabularium, are all built of that stone which the Romans call Peperino, probably from the town of Piperno, (Privernum,) where it is found in great abundance. The ancients called it Alban stone^b, because they got it from the neighbourhood of Alba; and it seems, that all their early buildings were made of it. Afterwards two other kinds of stone came to be used, Travertine and Tufo. The former has its name from the Teverone or Anio, near which it is formed. I use this expression, because the calcarious deposit from the water is constantly indurating, and forms incrustations round any object which is left in it. An instance of this may be seen at Tivoli, where there is the evident trace of a wheel, the wood of which is decayed, but a hard mass of stone is formed round it. The ancients called this stone Tiburtine. The outside of the Colosseum is built of it. The third kind of stone is Tufo. Vitruvius mentions itⁱ, and calls it *tophus*, of which he describes red, black, and white varieties. This is the softest of all stones used for building, and seems evidently to be of volcanic origin, of which all the country round Albano, and Rome itself, bears evident trace. Some showers of stones, which Livy mentions as falling near Albano, seem to allude to phænomena connected with

^b Vid. Vitruvius, lib. ii. c. 7. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 48.

ⁱ Lib. ii. c. 7.

volcanos^k. He mentions also^l, that a great gulph or chasm opened near Albano^m. Vitruvius says, that *tophus* was used for the interior of buildings, which was not exposed to the air. We find the inside of the Colosseum composed of it.

The walls of Rome, as they now stand, can in no part claim a greater antiquity than the time of Aurelian; so that we look in vain here for any work of the Republic. There is reason however to believe, that a fragment of a wall in the Villa Mattei, on the Cælian hill, is part of the ancient circuit; and if so, we may find in it a monument of the age of Servius Tullius. The appearance of the masonry is certainly not hostile to such a supposition. In the gardens of Sallust, now those of the Villa Barberini, there is another portion of wall, which is also said to have belonged to the ancient circuit.

Of the Bridges, the only one, which can claim a date prior to the age of Augustus, is the Ponte Rotto. But this has been so often repaired after inundations, that we cannot easily decide how much of it is ancient. It was begun by M. Fulvius, and finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius. The next to this in antiquity is the Ponte di 4 Capi, anciently Pons Fabricius, which leads into the island. This however was built under the reign of Augustus; though it may

^k Lib. i. c. 31. l. xxv. c. 7. &c.

^l Lib. xl.

^m Pliny mentions a shower in Lucania of matter resembling sponges. Lib. ii. c. 57.

be doubted, whether it was not rather repaired, than reconstructed at that time. Donatus makes it to have been built in 612. The Pons Sublicius was the most ancient in Rome: but if it be true, that the island was formed at the time of the expulsion of the Tarquins, it is probable, that a bridge was built very early, to form a communication with it. Unfortunately for our classical curiosity, the Sublician bridge itself, on which Horatius Cocles stood, as the bulwark of infant Rome, has entirely been washed away.

Both within and without the walls we may see some works of great antiquity in the Aquaducts. Several fragments of these astonishing efforts of human industry stretch across the Campagna in various directions. It is difficult to ascertain the precise date of some of them: they evidently have been repaired at different times, but many parts of them bespeak the solid and massy architecture of the early ages of Rome. We have a detailed account of the state of the Aquaducts during the reign of Nerva, written by Frontinus, who was engineer under that emperor. He says that nine different waters came into Rome; but as some of these were united, the Aquaducts that entered the city were not so numerous. Sextus Rufus, who wrote in the time of Diocletian, makes the number nineteen; and Procopius, who lived in the sixth century, says that there were fourteen. A minute account of these several works would not be very interesting. To trace all of them, or indeed any of them, through the

whole of their course, would perhaps be impossible. Procopius tells us, that Vitiges broke them down to deprive the city of water; and as in many of them the arches did not begin at a great distance from the walls, we may despair of ascertaining their course under ground. The work of Frontinus will supply the names of the places where each Aquaduct began, and the length of its course. I shall content myself with enumerating a few of them, and endeavouring to point out here and there some remains of the ancient arches.

Till the year of Rome 441, the city was supplied with water from the Tiber only. In that year Appius Claudius the censor brought a stream from a distance of seven miles, which was called from him Aqua Appia. It began to the left of the Via Prænestina, and Frontinus says, that its whole course, except sixty paces near the Porta Collina, was under ground. If these few arches existed, they would be considerably within the modern circuit of the walls; but I know no trace of them, and only mention the Aquaduct, because a long line of arches may be seen to the right and left of the Via Prænestina, extending with occasional interruptions for a length of some miles. It is said to be a remnant of the Aquaduct, which Spartianus mentions as being built by Alexander Severus.

Near the Porta S. Lorenzo we may see an Aquaduct with three water-courses in it, one above the other. These conveyed the Aquæ

Martia, Tepula, and Julia, which were brought to Rome successively in the years 608, 627, 719. We must conclude, that the union was not effected till the last period; and if the arches conveying all the three waters were only constructed then¹, the work now remaining can scarcely be classed amongst those of the Republic.

The Aqua Virgo was introduced a few years after the last; and parts of the Aquaduct may be traced, crossing the three roads, which lead respectively from the gates of S. Lorenzo, Pia, and Salara. This is probably the one, which Procopius mentions as being near the Porta Pinciana, by which Vitiges attempted to enter Rome. It commenced about eight miles off on the Via Collatina.

The Claudian Aquaduct was truly an imperial work, and therefore ought not perhaps to be mentioned here. It was begun by Caligula, and finished by Claudius. Two streams were united, both of which came from near the Via Sublancensis, a road which follows the valley of the Anio above Tivoli. One came forty miles off, and was carried upon arches immediately after quitting its source for a distance of three miles. The other, the *Anio novus*, also began on arches, which continued for twelve miles, 800 paces. After this, both went under ground, and at a dis-

¹ This is not a necessary consequence, because the Aqua Julia ran in the highest of the three channels, and the Tepula was higher than the Martia. These three waters will be mentioned more in detail by and bye.

tance of six miles, 491 paces from the city, they joined, and were carried upon arches all the rest of the way. This is the most perfect of all the ancient Aquaducts; and it has been repaired, so as to convey the *Acqua Felice*, which is one of the three streams^o that now supply Rome. Parallel to it there may be observed for a considerable distance the ruins of another Aquaduct, which must necessarily have been older than that of Claudius, and presents an appearance of great antiquity. It is built of large stones, whereas the later ones are of brick. The Claudian Aquaduct entered the city by the *Porta Maggiore*, where we may still see a great portion of it, and observe the two channels, one above the other, for the different streams. The *Anio novus* was the highest. The arches may be traced from hence to St. John Lateran, over parts of the Cælian hill, and so to Mount Aventine.

These works, so frequent in all Roman colonies, have been cited as a proof, that the Romans were ignorant of that principle in hydrostatics, that water will always rise to the level of its source; and their patient industry has been ridiculed in taking so much trouble to convey upon arches of brick or stone, what might have been brought in pipes under ground. How far or how

^o These three are the *Acqua Vergine*, restored by Nicolas V, which comes to the fountain of Trevi; *L'Acqua Felice*, brought by Sextus V, to the fountain of Termini; and *L'Acqua Sabatina*, which supplies the Janiculum, and was brought to the Fountain Paolina by Paul V.

long the Romans were really ignorant of this principle, I cannot pretend to say : perhaps when they first erected arches for this purpose, they were not aware that the labour might have been saved ; but it is difficult to deny, that many Roman Aquaducts were constructed in this manner after the principle was known. The Meta Sudans^p, a fragment of which still exists near the Colosseum, is said to have been a fountain ; and it is evident, that the water which supplied it was not raised by mere mechanical means. Pliny^q mentions one hundred and five fountains (salientes) in Rome : and from the Latin term for a fountain it appears certain, that they resembled those of modern times, and that the water was thrown up merely by its own pressure. But another passage of Pliny is more decisive, and ought to set the question at rest, as to the science of his days. He says^r, “ The water which is “ wanted to rise to any height, should come out “ of lead. It rises to the height of its source.” In another place he observes, “ The ancients “ carried their streams in a lower course, either

^p We find mention of it in Seneca's Epistles to Lucillus ; “ *Essedas transcurrentes porro et fabrum inquilinum et ferrarium vicinum, aut hunc, qui ad Metam Sudantem tubas experitur et tibias, neque cantat, sed exclamat.*” There is a coin of Titus, on the reverse of which is a figure of the Meta Sudans, which was probably repaired by him.

^q Lib. xxxvi. c. 24. Agrippa . . . lacus septingentos fecit, præterea salientes centum quinque, castella centum triginta.

^r Lib. xxxi. c. 31.

“because they were not yet acquainted with the exact principle of keeping a level, or because they purposely sunk them under ground, that they might not easily be interrupted by the enemy.” We may add a passage from Frontinus¹, “There are five different levels to the streams, two of which are raised to every part of the city; but of the rest some are forced by greater some by less pressure.”

In the colonies, which were planted in Spain or Gaul, these works were probably constructed for political reasons. A number of people were employed by these means, and the cities were ornamented and supplied with the conveniences of life, to induce the hardy natives to reside in them. As soon as the Gauls or Spaniards inclosed themselves within walls and adopted Roman manners, the protection of Rome was necessary to them; so that there were good reasons for constructing these enormous works, although if the only object had been to supply the city with water, it might have been done on much cheaper terms. The needless labour bestowed upon these Aquaducts may be seen very remarkably at Lyons, where some fragments of arches still exist¹. The water was conveyed in this manner

¹ Lib. i.

¹ The part, which remains, is about seventy yards long, and contains the ruins of nine arches. The building is narrow, but as the ground is here on a decline, part of it is raised to a great height, and if it crossed the adjoining valley, it must have been several times as high.

for two leagues, and yet the hill, at which it terminated, and on which the ancient Lugdunum stood, contains several springs of excellent water. Even the magnificent work still existing under the name of Pont du Gard^a, and which supplied Nismes (Nemausus) with water, might have been spared, as there is in that city a most copious spring, which is quite a natural curiosity. It is evident therefore, that here even ignorance of the hydrostatical principle would not have urged them to such a laborious undertaking, and some other motive must have caused the work. We must recollect too, that the expence of labour was scarcely any thing, as the conquered inhabitants might have been had in thousands.

In quoting the tombs, as remains antecedent to the Augustan age, the tomb of the Scipio family, which is the most ancient, perhaps hardly comes under our enquiry; the tomb itself being nothing but a subterraneous vault, on which no labour of architecture was bestowed. I was unwilling however to pass it over, as we have here specimens of the art of sculpture at Rome as far back as U. C. 456. The pyramid in memory of C. Cestius near the Porta S. Paolo, is probably prior to the time of Augustus, though not much

^a This stupendous Aquaduct, which far exceeds any thing of the kind in Italy, consists of three rows of arches, one above the other. The first tier contains six arches, the second eleven, the third thirty-five. The whole height is 182 feet: the channel, in which the water ran, is three feet high. It lies between Avignon and Nismes.

so : and as to the tomb of Bibulus, nothing is known as to its date, but we may probably fix it a little earlier than that of Cestius. The tomb of Cæcilia Metella is also of the time of the Republic, but evidently not long before the close of it. We may judge of this from the marble used in it; but certainly Pliny's remark, quoted at p. 20, is borne out by this specimen : for the blocks have not been sawed, and the same may be said of the pyramid of C. Cestius *.

Of the temples, but a poor catalogue can be made out, as exhibiting any monuments of the Republic. It will be attempted to be shewn in another place, that the Church of St. Theodore, near the Forum, was not the temple of Romulus.

The temple of Vesta too, though said by some to be older than the age of Augustus, has not much evidence to support its pretensions. It stands between the Arch of Janus and the river. It is circular, with a portico all round it, of twenty Corinthian pillars, fluted; one of which is wanting. The cornice also and the ancient roof have disappeared, otherwise it is tolerably perfect, and forms a very interesting and elegant object. The walls within the portico are all of white marble, much of which still remains, and the pieces of it were put together, so as to have the appearance of one uninterrupted mass. The pillars are thirty-five feet high; the whole circumference of the building is 170 feet, and the

* All these tombs will be described afterwards in detail.

diameter of the temple within the portico is 28. The question still remains unanswered, what is the date of this building? Sextus Pompeius tells us, that Numa dedicated a temple to Vesta, and that it was round¹. Horace also mentions one; and it might be thought vain to search for Numa's building after the catastrophe which he describes. But his words do not absolutely imply that it was thrown down; it may only have been endangered:

Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis
Templaque Vestæ. Od. lib. i. 2, 15.

The present edifice is however far too elegant for the age of Numa. It is conjectured, that it was burnt in Nero's fire, and repaired by Vespasian, or Domitian, as it appears on the coins of those emperors. It was burnt again in 191, under Commodus, and Julia Pia, wife of Septimius Severus, restored it. This is probably the building still in existence; and the proportion of the columns seems to shew, that it must have been

¹ Festus "*rotunda ædes*." There is a beautiful round temple at Tivoli, which is also supposed to have been dedicated to Vesta, though it has always been called the Temple of the Sibyl. That this last title is wrong, seems to be agreed by all the antiquaries of the present day. Andrea Fulvio, who wrote in the sixteenth century, calls it the Temple of the Goddess Albunea, without mentioning any other opinion. Albunea was the fountain, from which the river Albula flowed. It is mentioned by Virgil, *Æn.* vii. 83.

erected in an age, when architecture was on the decline : for though the height of Corinthian columns ought to equal nine diameters, these contain eleven. It was consecrated, as a Christian Church, to St. Stephen, and is known by the name of S. Stefano delle Carrozze, and La Madonna del Sole. An inscription says, “Sextus IIII “Pont. Max. *Ædem hanc Beati Stephani Pro-
“tomartyris diu incultam et incognitam instau-
“ravit Anno Jubilæi”* [1475]. The spaces between the pillars were all blocked up with brickwork till very lately, when every thing was cleared away, and the building restored to its original appearance.

The Temple of Fortuna Virilis, near the Ponte Rotto, (now the church of Santa Maria Egiziaca,) is said by some to have been built by Servius Tullius : but this cannot claim such antiquity, as Dionysius tells us², that Servius’ Temple was burnt, on which occasion his statue, which was of wood gilt, was the only thing saved. The present building may perhaps stand upon the same site. Some have wished to call it the Basilica of C. Lucius, but Palladio is positive that it was a temple. Very erroneous accounts are given of its original plan, and of the remains still existing ; but Desgodetz has published a very accurate survey and engraving of it. The front consisted of four pillars, which still remain : there were seven on each side, reckoning the angular ones,

² Antiq. lib. iv. c. 33.

but the five last were only half pillars. Those at the other end, corresponding to the front, were also half pillars. Of the lateral ones, I could only make out six on one side; the other is blocked up by buildings. The pillars are Ionic, and the cornice is handsomely ornamented with festoons, bulls' heads, children, and candelabra. The soil has accumulated up to the base of the columns; and there were anciently several steps leading up to the front. Andrea Fulvio mentions, that there was formerly an inscription, which was become perfectly illegible in his time.

The Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano in the Forum, besides being itself a building of the 6th century, has an ancient Temple of Remus for its vestibule. There is not much to lead us to any particular conclusion as to its date; but it is probably prior to the Augustan age, and I should think considerably so. There will be occasion to mention it more hereafter.

The Arch of Janus is considered to be older than the time of Augustus, though it could not be much so, on account of the Greek marble of which it is built; which, as already stated, was not used at Rome till towards the decline of the Republic.

What is the date of the Basilica of Paulus Æmilius, which now forms part of the Church of S. Adriano in Foro, and of the Baths of P. Æmilius near the Column of Trajan, I have not been able to discover.

Such are the buildings, which claim attention

in Rome, on the grounds of the greatest antiquity. The list will be considered a scanty one; and of those which have been enumerated, some are doubtful, and many have only the claim of a few years to be called the works of the Republic. The Cloaca Maxima, the Mamertine Prisons, the Aquaducts, and perhaps the Bridges, are all which can really carry us back to the venerable and sacred times of Roman Liberty^a. Poggio, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century, says, in his work on the mutability of fortune, that he could discern nothing of the age of the Republic, except a bridge, (meaning the *Pons Fabricius*,) an arch, a sepulchre, the pyramid of C. Cestius, and a double row of vaults in the salt-office of the Capitol. But this catalogue is certainly too small; and the philosopher has cast too melancholy a view upon the ages that were past. It seems however, that we can scarcely fail coming to this conclusion, that architecture was at a very low ebb in Rome, when it was at its height in Greece, and the Grecian colonies. The remains at Athens, such as the Parthenon, the Temple of Theseus, and the Propylæa, carry us back to the time of Pericles, which answers to the year of Rome 302. In Sicily, the Temples of

^a In these days the word *Liberty* may be objected to, as used here, because the Cloaca and the Prisons were formed by two of the kings. But the state of Rome under the Kings and under the Emperors was as different, as the government of England compared with that of Turkey. This is not the country, in which the union of Liberty with Monarchy is to be objected to.

^{um}
S Egesta and Girgenti remind us of the ravages which the Carthaginians had inflicted upon the island, before the Romans had a navy in their ports to contend with them. If we come still nearer to them in Magna Græcia, we have the temples at Pæstum, over whose history a veil of mystery is spread, through which we endeavour to look into those times, which are prior to existing records. But at Rome there seems to have been no national genius, which could strike out such magnificent works, and for many years no national taste, which would care to imitate them. A patriot in the days of Augustus, if taunted upon this defect, would probably have made the rudeness and inelegance of his ancestors a topic of admiration; but in comparing the Romans with the Athenians, we cannot deny, that the latter were the most polished nation of the two: and as a dictator taken from the plough, or a Capitol built of brick, does not excite in us any patriotic feeling, we may perhaps be allowed to sympathize more with the fate of Athens, than of Rome. But in the latter city, if we wish to confine ourselves to the Republic, there is surely no need of monuments of brick and stone, to awaken our recollection of such a period. If we must have visible objects, on which to fix our attention, we have the ground itself, on which the Romans trod: we have the seven hills, we have the Campus Martius, the Forum, all places familiar to us from history, and in which we can assign the precise spot, where some memorable

action was performed. Those who feel a gratification in placing their footsteps where Cicero or Cæsar did before them, in the consciousness of standing upon the same hill which Manlius defended, and in all those associations which bring the actors themselves upon the scene, may have all their enthusiasm satisfied, and need not complain that there are no monuments of the time of the Republic. Rome is indeed a melancholy wreck of what it once was; but the circuit of the walls being the same at this moment, as in the time of the Emperor Aurelian, we have so far a point of connection between former times and our own; and what is wanting in many ancient cities, we can positively identify the limits which it occupied. But in Rome we can do more: from the records of history we can trace the gradual increase of the city from the time when Romulus had his cottage on the Capitol, to the final extension of the walls by Aurelian.

The traveller would do well to study this history, and observe upon the spot the successive limits which the rising city occupied. He would first place himself upon the Palatine hill, and would fancy all the subjects of Romulus settled on it. The other hills were then probably uncultivated, and overgrown with trees, while the plain at the foot of them was marshy from the inundations of the Tiber. It was on this hill that Nero built his Golden House, which covered nearly the whole of it. Caligula united it with the Capitol by a bridge across the Forum.

These enormous buildings necessarily swallowed up every other, and it is therefore vain to expect any antiquity on the Palatine, prior to the time of Nero. The thatched cottage of Romulus was not on this hill, as some have asserted, but on the Capitol. The palace of Nero has followed the fate of this cottage: nothing now remains of the splendid and extensive superstructure: but amongst the gardens, which occupy the ground, some fragments of masonry may here and there be seen, and some subterraneous apartments may be entered, where a few paintings are still visible.

Romulus seems to have surrounded his city with a wall, though, if the story of Remus be true, it was not a very formidable one. Perhaps it was not made of stone^a. Livy is express in saying, that Romulus *first* surrounded the Palatine hill^b; but his words do not contradict what is said by other authors, that the Capitoline and the Forum were taken in during his reign. Tacitus says^c, that the Capitol was believed to have been added to the city by Tatius; and we may

^a It may be left to the antiquaries to dispute, whether the form of the city was round or square. The latter is generally asserted; but the notion rests in part upon a mistaken passage in Plutarch, where he says, that Romulus founded *Roma Quadrata*, which does not mean the whole city, but a place on the Palatine hill, which served as a centre, from which the walls were drawn. Plutarch in another place expressly calls it round, and such seems most probably to be the truth.

^b Lib. i. c. 6.

^c An. lib. xii. c. 24.

collect, that Romulus had fortifications on the Capitoline, Cælian, Esquiline, Aventine, and Quirinal hills, but they were not included within the walls^d. Tullus Hostilius, after destroying Alba, and doubling the population of his subjects by removing the Alban citizens, added the Cælian hill^e. Ancus Martius gave Mount Aventine to the people, but it was not included within the *pomærium*, though it seems to have been surrounded with a wall of its own^f. He afterwards joined the Janiculum to the city by the Sublician bridge. Servius Tullius took in also the Viminal, Quirinal, and Esquiline, and inclosed the whole six with a wall. During these periods, the population must wonderfully have increased. We must not however suppose, that all this ground was built upon: probably great part was cultivated, as is the case with the modern city; and in those times, when a war was an annual event, and the hostile nations lived within a few miles of the gates it was necessary, that a great portion of the food, requisite for the inhabitants, should be grown within the walls.

Whoever wishes to take a survey of the seven hills at one view, must ascend to the top of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitol. He will here command a prospect, which surpasses in interest

^d A. Gellius makes this distinction: "the most ancient *pomærium*, which was instituted by Romulus, was bounded by "the roots of the Palatine hill." Lib. xiii. c. 14.

^e Liv. lib. i. c. 30.

^f Dion. Hal. A. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 14.

any thing that the world can furnish. The natural features of the country are themselves beautiful ; and if nothing was known of the history of Rome, the ruins would still rivet his attention. The seven hills are distinctly discernible ; but their boundaries are not so marked now, as they were formerly, from the accumulation of soil, which has taken place in the valleys. From this spot it will be observed, that modern Rome does not occupy exactly the same ground which it did formerly. It has in fact travelled northward, and the Campus Martius, which in the time of Augustus was an open space, forms now the principal part of the city. Of the seven hills, the Capitoline, the Cælian, the Viminal, and Quirinal, are still in part built upon : the Palatine, Esquiline, and Aventine are mostly covered with gardens, and contain but few houses.

The most populous part of modern Rome stands, as was said, in the Campus Martius, which from the time of Servius Tullius to that of Aurelian was without the walls. The whole plain may be said to have been bounded by the Tiber on the west, on the south by the Capitoline and Quirinal hills, and towards the north it probably extended as far as the Ponte Molle. It was divided into the greater and the less, of which we find notice in Catullus,

Te campo quæсивimus minore,
Te in Circo, te in omnibus libellis. LV. 3.

The greater was a sort of suburb to Rome, and

contained several houses and buildings, of which the Mausoleum of Augustus may be considered the northern limit: the other division was not built upon, and was devoted to martial exercises. Strabo^a after having mentioned the latter says, "Next to this and joining on to it is another plain, with innumerable porticos all about, wooded gardens, three théâtres, an amphitheatre, and very magnificent temples contiguous to each other."

Besides the seven hills, the wall, as subsequently increased, inclosed the Mons Pincius, or Collis Hortulorum, which still retains the name of Monte Pincio. Collis Hortulorum is the term used by Suetonius^b, probably from the neighbouring gardens of Sallust. Mons Pincius was a name given to it subsequently from the Pincian family, which was of eminence in the time of Constantine. This is a considerable eminence, but as it was not within the walls of S. Tullius, it has not acquired so much celebrity as the seven others. A public walk is now constructed upon it, and it commands an admirable view of Rome and the surrounding country.

Another hill may be observed behind the Piazza Colonna, which is called the Monte Citorio. There is reason to think, that there was no hill here formerly, but that the inequality was formed by the rubbish removed from the old buildings, and perhaps more particularly from

^a Lib. v.

^b Nero, c. 50.

the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus. Such is partly the opinion of L. Fauno, though he substitutes the amphitheatre of Claudius for that of Taurus. He gives it as the opinion of some persons, that the hill was formed from the soil, which was dug out, when Antoninus' pillar was erected. Venuti thinks, that the name is derived from this being the place in the Campus Martius, where the people were cited to give their votes. Fauno writes the name *Acitorio*, but agrees with him in his etymology.

The Monte Testaccio seems hardly worth mentioning, except as being an eminence within the walls: it is however remarkable, if the story of its origin be true, as having been entirely raised by art. It stands at the south-west corner of Rome, near the Tiber, and measures 160 feet in height, and a third of a mile in circumferenceⁱ. It is said to be entirely composed of fragments of pottery, which were deposited here. An examination of the hill itself fully confirms this notion; and it should be remembered, that the principal potteries were established in this part of the town by Tarquinius Priscus, when he was building the Circus Maximus^k. This is the case at the present day, and the Church of S. Francesco *a ripa* on the opposite side of the river has

ⁱ This is from Venuti. In Spence's Anecdotes, p. 243, it is stated, that the whole rise from the Villa of the Cavalier Corradini to the cross on the top is upwards of 800 feet.

^k This too is on the authority of Venuti, who does not tell us where he found this circumstance related.

been found to be built upon the same fragments. When we consider the abundant use of earthenware which prevailed in Rome, that all the oil and wine was preserved in vessels of this kind, when we find them in the sepulchres and the walls of buildings, not to mention the tiles which covered the houses, the prodigious number of lamps and ornamental vases, &c. &c., we perhaps need not be surprised that this hill was formed. So early as the reign of Numa, a college of potters was instituted; and if we believe Marlianus, there was an order of the Senate in later times, which prohibited the throwing any fragments of pottery into the river, lest it should dam up the water, and overflow the city. P. Victor mentions a hill, called *Doliolus*, which is thought to be the same as the Monte Testaccio, but it is not mentioned by any older author. This was also without the walls of S. Tullius¹. A very cold wind is observed to proceed from the lower part of this hill in summer, and cellars have accordingly been constructed in it for sake of keeping the wine cool.

To enlarge the circuit of the walls was called *Pomærium proferre*. *Pomærium*, which Livy tells us^m signifies *post mærium, behind the walls*, was a space within and without the walls, which was consecrated at the first found-

¹ In the lease of a vineyard, A. D. 1256, published by Nérini, (*De Templo S. Alexii*, p. 438.) the Monte Testaccio is called *Mons de Palio*.

^m Lib. i. c. 44.

ation, and was not allowed to be built upon. Those only were permitted to extend the *pomærium*, who had taken some land from the enemy. And yet every extension of the walls was not necessarily an extension of the *pomærium*; for Vopiscus speaking of Aurelian says, "that he " extended the walls of the city, and yet did not " add to the *pomærium* then, but afterwards." Some religious ceremony seems to have been necessary for the extension of the *pomærium*, distinct from the mere removal of the stones. Thus Mount Aventine was inclosed with a wall, and probably joined to the city wall from the time of Ancus Martius, but was not included within the *pomærium* till the time of Claudius.

For 430 years the limits of Rome continued the same. Servius Tullius inclosed a space so much larger than was necessary for the population of his day, that nobody thought of enlarging the circuit of the walls till the time of Sylla. Tacitus remarksⁿ, that no Roman generals, although powerful nations were subdued, exercised the right of extending the walls, except L. Sulla and Augustus. A. Gellius also^o and Seneca^p speak of the enlargement of the walls by Sylla. This was U. C. 674. It is thought, that he took in that part which lies towards the gardens of Sallust, and probably altered the position of the Portæ Collina and Viminalis. Dio Cas-

ⁿ Ann. lib. xii. c. 23. .
Vitæ, 14.

^o Lib. xiii. c. 14.

^p De Brev.

sius ^q and A. Gellius ^r assert also, that J. Cæsar made a farther extension. Cicero hints the same thing ^s. This was about U. C. 720. The above quotation from Tacitus also shews Augustus to have imitated them, which was about the year 746. These two last extensions probably were in that part which lies between the Portæ Collina and Capena. Tacitus says expressly ^t that Claudius extended the walls, and A. Gellius tells us ^u that he took in Mount Aventine, which had been before walled in, but not included in the circuit of the city. Nero and Trajan made additions according to Vopiscus ^x, but what precise space was added cannot be ascertained. The last and greatest increase was made by Aurelian, since which time the circuit has remained the same to our days, with the exception of a few alterations caused by repairs after different sieges. The annexed plan will afford some idea of the original wall as drawn by S. Tullius, and of the more extended one raised by Aurelian. It has been supposed, from the appearance of the walls, that he ran them up in a great hurry. We cannot come to this conclusion from the materials, of which they are composed, because so much of them has been rebuilt: but he seems in some instances to have taken advantage of buildings already in existence, and to have made them con-

^q Lib. xliii.^r Lib. xiii. c. 14.^s Epist. ad Att. lib. xiii.^t Lib. xii. c. 24.^u Lib. xiii. c. 14.^x Vita Aureliani,

c. 21.



tinue on his new line. The wall built by S. Tullius was of stone, but that of Aurelian was probably all or mostly of brick, as it is now.

Few questions connected with Roman history are so puzzling as the population of the city during these intervals. Livy tells us¹, that in the time of Servius Tullius, who first instituted the census, the numbers amounted to 80000. But the difficulty in this and all the succeeding enumerations is to know what description of persons the census comprehended. Livy himself considers this as a point not decided: he quotes Fabius Pictor, as saying, that this first census only included those who were capable of bearing arms. But a passage in Dionysius seems to shew, that this was not always the meaning of the census. Speaking of that which was the fifth from the first institution, he says, that the whole number was 150700, and that after the return was given, a separation was made of those who were of the age for military service from those who were older. All the inhabitants of Rome were evidently not numbered: it must also be supposed, that slaves were not; and, if we judge from the object for which the custom was established, women and children would also have been excluded. Livy², stating the census in 289 at 124214, expressly says, that widows and widowers were excepted, from which it might be argued, that all women were not excluded. Dionysius remarks³, that the

¹ Lib. i. c. 44.

² Lib. iii. c. 3.

³ Lib. ix.

people not reckoned in the census, such as women, children, slaves, tradesmen, mechanics, &c. were three times as numerous as those who were included. This author always uses the expression, "those who were of age^b," which seems clearly to prove, that children were not reckoned. A passage in Pliny is perhaps important upon this question: speaking of the inhabitants of Rome in the year 365, when it was burnt by the Gauls, he says, that the census gave a return of 152573 *freemen*.

In the fourth year of the second Punic war, Livy states the numbers to have been 270213. In the tenth year of the same war they were 137108. The diminution may naturally be accounted for by the long and destructive war which was then raging. In the year 549 U. C. which was four years afterwards, the return was 214000; but then, as we learn from Livy^c, the censors went to the armies, which were in the various provinces, and besides the natural born citizens, many of the Latin allies were included in the census. It appears, that these were men, who had been made citizens, and had consequently settled in Rome: for shortly after we find the allies complaining of this migration, and accordingly 12000 naturalized allies were sent away from Rome: and a decree was afterwards made, that the names of such persons should not be taken in the Roman census, but in their re-

^b τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ.

^c Lib. xxix. c. 37.

spective cities. From the close of the Punic war to the year 667, they went on progressively increasing, at least with few and small exceptions. In the year 667, according to the Chronicle of Eusebius, they were 464000, or according to some copies 483000. Soon after this succeeded the civil wars of Marius and Sylla, which greatly diminished the number of citizens. In 683, the numbers were 450000, as we learn from the Epitome of Livy, lib. xcviii. But at the end of the civil war, U. C. 707, Plutarch says^d, that the return was only 150000, instead of 320000, which was the number at the beginning of the war, making a diminution of 170000. But Brotier^e says, that Plutarch has made a mistake, and other authors after him, as Cæsar's object was only to ascertain the number of people, who were to have an allowance of corn from the public; and this number, not that of the whole population, was 150000. The Epitome of Livy^f agrees with Plutarch; which, if Brotier's opinion be correct, is an additional argument, that these Epitomes are by another hand, for Livy himself could hardly have made such a mistake.

If we go from hence to the time of Claudius, we find an increase, which exceeds all calculation, and which it is impossible to reconcile with the limits of Rome. Tacitus^g states, that in the

^d In Vita Cæsaris.

^e In his Annotation upon Tacitus, An. lib. xi. c. 25.

^f Lib. cxv.

^g An. lib. xi. c. 25.

reign of Claudius the inhabitants amounted to 5984072. In this enumeration the suburbs and in fact great part of the Campagna must have been taken into the account; for it is demonstrable, that Rome within the walls could never have contained six millions. Nor will the numbers contained at former periods allow us to conceive such a prodigious increase to have taken place, even if the walls would have contained them. We must therefore either suppose the passage in Tacitus to be corrupt, or that he took into his calculation not only the citizens residing in Rome, but all that were called out of Italy by business, or any other cause; and that such were occasionally included in the census, is shewn by Sigonius^b, out of Livy and Dionysius. Another explanation is given by some writersⁱ, who say, that during the Republic the census was only held within the walls of Rome, whereas Augustus extended it to the provinces: and certainly the increase in the time of Augustus is greater than could have been produced by the mere progress of population within the walls. We have an account of three census held by him. According to an inscription found at Ancyra^k, the numbers in 725 were 4063000. In 745 they were 4203000: and in 766 they were 4137000. It should be men-

^b De Jure Civ. Rom. lib. i. c. 14.

ⁱ Vide J. Vossius de Magnit. Romæ.

^k Vide Chishull Antiq. Asiat. p. 173.

tioned, that Eusebius makes the numbers upon the last occasion 9300000, and in the time of Claudius 6944000, instead of 5984072, as given by Tacitus. But though this seems an incredible number for the inhabitants of Rome, on the other hand it is far too small, if all the provinces were taken into the account; and Suidas must evidently be wrong, when he says, that Augustus, wishing to ascertain the number of citizens throughout the empire, found it to be 4101017, a number far too small. His enumeration however is probably correct, as it agrees so nearly with the inscription at Ancyra, and there is nothing improbable in supposing, that he included all Italy in his survey, and that all the citizens were numbered. We might at least suppose the suburbs to be included, and even in that case the numbers would hardly be extravagant; for we may safely extend them in some directions to a distance of forty miles.

After stating these facts with respect to the census, it may be expected, that some inference would be drawn from them, as to the real method of making that enumeration; and perhaps an easy explanation may be found, which will account for all the circumstances above stated. In the first place we will collect from these data what descriptions of people were *not* included, and that may enable us to come to some understanding of who were.

Minors, slaves, and mechanics, although re-

siding in Rome, were not reckoned¹. The citizens who were absent on military service were not always reckoned, or else Livy would not have mentioned it, as an extraordinary circumstance, that they were so in 549^m. As to the allies, the senate and people had the power of admitting them into the census, or excluding them from it, although they possessed the freedom of the city. From these data we are authorized in collecting, that citizenship and residence in Rome were two of the qualifications for the census, as ordinarily held. If then the question be asked, what description of people did the census enumerate? we answer generally, Roman citizens. The above data are sufficient to shew, that none but Roman citizens were included; but it is equally true, that all those, who were citizens, were not regularly enrolled. This does not really present any difficulty, but might naturally be expected from considering the object of Servius Tullius. The census was instituted for two purposes: one was, to ascertain what portion of the free population was capable of bearing arms: the other was, to know the property possessed by each citizen, and consequently how much he could contribute to support the state. The census was not intended, according as we now use the term, to ascertain the numbers of the whole population. We shall

¹ Dion. Hal. lib. ix.

^m Vide lib. xxix. c. 37.

therefore be at no loss to see, why on some occasions all the Roman citizens were not included in it; and this will lead us to an explanation of all the circumstances mentioned above. Widows and widowers were exempt from paying any thing to the public treasuryⁿ; consequently there was no necessity to enumerate them; and according to Livy they did not in 289. But we may fairly infer, that heiresses possessing any property^o would be rated according to the value of it; and that the daughters of citizens married to strangers would also be rated. Hence also the soldiers on foreign service were not enumerated; because one object of the census, the ascertaining how many were capable of bearing arms, was already obtained, as far as they were concerned: and as they did not pay any thing to the state while on duty, there was no reason to take their names at all. But in U. C. 549, when the senate was anxious to make the return as large as possible, we find, that the censors sent to the different provinces, where the armies were, and took a census of the soldiers. The reason of this measure is very evident. At this time, which

ⁿ Servius Tullius laid a tax of 2000 pounds of brass upon the widows, to maintain the horses of the knights. (Liv. lib. i. c. 43.) But this very fact proves them to have been exempt from other taxes.

^o There was a law passed, *Lex Voconia*, in 384 U. C. by which no female was able to inherit property. (Cic. in Ver. i. 42.) But the law was eluded, and became obsolete. (A. Gell. lib. xx. c. 1.)

was during the second Punic war, great numbers of the allies had been admitted into the army : but these were not all citizens, and consequently not all to be depended upon ; and as the object of the senate was to ascertain what was the military strength in the citizens, who could be compelled to serve, they naturally extended their investigation beyond the limits of Rome. We may conclude therefore, that a diminution or increase in the numbers of the census does not necessarily prove, as is generally supposed, that the whole population was increased or diminished since the former return ; but the censors were more or less strict in their office according to the exigence of the times.

To be a citizen of Rome, that is, to have a vote in the Comitia, three things were necessary ; that the person should be domiciled, that he should belong to one of the thirty-five tribes, and that he should be capable of filling the public offices. The *Jus Latii* and the *Jus Italiæ*, which were privileges granted to the allies, were short of actual citizenship, and did not make a person a full citizen, or cause his name to be taken in the Roman census. Sigonius says, that the very act of being enrolled upon the censor's list conferred all the rights of citizenship ; and slaves with the consent of their masters sometimes entered their names, and thus became free citizens. But no persons could vote in the Comitia, nor could they be taxed for the relief of the state, unless they resided in Rome ; so that it was optional with

the censors to take the provinces into their survey, or not. After the extraordinary census in 549, we have seen that 12000 of the allies were ordered to quit Rome, although their names had been admitted with the rest: for the cities, to which they belonged, complained of their absence; and the only way, by which the Romans could exclude them from the census, was by making them cease to reside in Rome. Another decree followed, that their names should in future be taken in their respective cities; and these numbers were sometimes transmitted to the Roman censors, though not taken into the general account ^p.

As the citizens of Rome came to be dispersed in various provinces, the numbers returned by the census naturally fluctuated, because there was no fixed rule as to what constituted residence. In U. C. 658, the Licinia Mucia Lex was passed, which ordered all the inhabitants of Italy, who were Roman citizens, to be enrolled in their respective cities ^q; but no mention is made of the provinces out of Italy. In 662, by the Lex Julia, all the inhabitants of Italy were made to belong to some tribe, and became full citizens. This will fully account for the vast increase, which we find in the reign of Augustus, compared with former returns. A census was held in the different towns, and transmitted to

^p Vide Liv. lib. xxix. c. 37.

^q Vide Cicero de Officiis, lib. iii. et pro Balbo, 21, 24.

Rome: some authors have added these to the Roman census, and some have not; which may account for the different enumerations of the same return: and we are therefore authorized in concluding from the whole, that at first the census only included the citizens resident in Rome, but was extended, if required, to citizens in foreign service: in later times all the free inhabitants of Italy were numbered in their respective cities, and the census transmitted to Rome.

It would be interesting to trace the population of the city from ancient times to the present, but I am not aware of any authorities being in existence, which would enable us to do it. We can form some estimate as to the numbers in the time of Theodosius, as P. Victor states the houses to have been altogether 48382. From this statement, Gibbon^r estimates the population at 1200000. Brotier says 1128162. In the fourteenth century it was 33000: under Leo X. 85000^s. In 1709 the inhabitants were 138568, without reckoning the Jews^t. In 1740 they had increased to 146080. In 1765 Gibbon states them at 161899. In 1819 I was informed, that they were about 120000, of which nearly a tenth were ecclesiastics.

The circumference of Rome is another ques-

^r Decline and Fall, c. 31.

^s Lancisi, de Romani coeli qualitatibus. Jovius, vita Leonis X. lib. iv. p. 83: but in his own time, i. e. after the pillage by the Spanish army, they were reduced to 32000.

^t Labat. Voyage, tom. iii. p. 217.

tion, which contains some difficulties; but they are difficulties, which must arise either from corruptions in the text of the ancient authors, or from gross inaccuracies in the writers themselves. What is the real measurement of the walls we may know for certain, because they still exist: we know also, that any writers, who have noticed the size of Rome since the time of Aurelian, ought to give the same dimensions, which we find now to be true; and those who spoke of them before that period, ought to make them much less. But this is not the case. Dionysius^u, speaking of the city in the year 291 from its foundation, says, that in that time the walls were not more extensive than those of Athens. The circuit of the latter is estimated at a day's journey by Aristides, in his *Panathenaica*. Strabo allows 250 or 300 stadia for a day's journey: Procopius only 210: Dicæarchus and others lessen it still farther to 200 stadia, about twenty-five miles. Dio Chrysostom also makes the circuit of Athens 200 stadia^x. Pliny states the circumference at thirteen Roman miles and 200 paces^y, which, as he wrote nearly 200 years before the time of Aurelian, seems an exaggerated statement. Gibbon says, in his concise way,

^u Lib. viii.

^x Orat. de Tyrannide.

^y Some copies have it thirty miles. Andrea Fulvio quotes Pliny, as if he said twenty miles, and in another place thirteen. The passage is in lib. iii. c. 5. "Mœnia ejus collegere ambitu
"Imperatoribus Censoribusque Vespasianis anno conditæ
"DCCCXXVI pass, XIII. MCC."

“ Pliny's old measure of thirteen must be reduced to eight miles. It is easier to alter a text, than to remove hills or buildings.” Certainly VIII may easily have been corrupted into XIII. There is also another difficulty attending these accounts ; for if it was intended, that there was a length of wall for twenty-five or thirteen miles, the circumference of the whole city was much greater, for on the side of the Tiber there were no walls. Vopiscus, who wrote under Constantine Chlorus, says, that Aurelian increased the walls of the city, so that their circuit measured nearly fifty miles ; an expression, which is utterly irreconcilable with the modern circuit. Eutropius indeed, contemporary with Valens, tells us, that Aurelian surrounded the city with stronger and weaker walls ; which expression may perhaps allude to a second circumference, which took in a much larger space, and may well have been fifty miles, or much more. Olympiodorus² says, that the wall was measured by Ammon, a geometrician, at the time of the first invasion by the Goths, and was twenty-one miles in circuit. Procopius however, who was present at the third Gothic war, gives a description, which agrees very closely with the present appearance.

In these statements, if the authors' words have not been altered by transcribers, it was not intended in giving the dimensions of the city to

² Ap. Phot. p. 197.

take the mere circuit of the walls, but to include some of the suburbs also, it is evident indeed, that ancient Rome, like modern London, extended a great way into the country, or Aurelian would not have thought it necessary to enlarge the walls. Some writers indeed, among whom is Isaac Vossius, suppose, that the walls were much more extensive in the time of the Republic, than afterwards: they accordingly carry them a great way out into the country, beyond the Anio, and nearly as far as Gabii, Tusculum, and Ostia, making a circuit of seventy miles and upwards. Their opinion however will probably not convince many.

We may form some idea of the extent of the suburbs, when it is stated, that from Otriculum (Otricoli) to Rome, a distance of nearly forty miles, the road was covered with buildings; and the same is said of the road from Rome to Ostia. Dionysius says^a, “Whoever wishes to ascertain
“the size of Rome, will be led into error, and
“have no certain mark to decide how far the
“city reaches, or where it begins not to be
“city; the country is so connected with the
“town, and gives those who see it an idea of a
“city infinitely extended. But if one wished to
“measure it by the wall, which is scarcely to be
“traced on account of the structures surround-
“ing it on all sides, but which in many places
“preserves traces of the ancient building, the cir-

^a Lib. iv.

“ cuit is not much greater than that of Athens.” If this remark was true in the time of Augustus, it must have been much more so in the days of Aurelian. Pliny also says ^b, “ exspatiantia tecta “ multas addidere urbes ;” meaning probably, that with little or no intermission there were houses connecting Rome with Gabii, Tibur, Ostia, Aricia, &c. &c. Aristides, deceived probably by this circumstance, thought that Rome was without walls. He lived in the time of Adrian. Present accounts state the circumference to be sixteen Roman miles. Mr. Hobhouse walked round them in three hours, thirty-three minutes and a quarter. I did it myself in three hours and ten minutes ^c, which would lead me to conclude, that it was not more than thirteen English miles. Marlianus, one of the earliest Roman antiquaries, says scarcely thirteen. G. Fabricius, who wrote in 1550, says also thirteen. Panvinus, writing in 1558, scarcely fourteen miles. In this statement, the city on each side of the Tiber is included. Poggio makes it ten miles, and reckons 379 turrets.

At present there are sixteen gates, but only twelve are open ; the Pinciana and Latina on the east, and the Fabrica and Castello on the west of the Tiber, being shut up. In the wall of

^b Lib. iii. c. 5.

^c In order to complete this work, it is necessary to cross the river in a boat : this causes considerable delay ; but I have reckoned only the time, which it would take to cross it by a bridge on foot.

Romulus, Pliny says^d, that there were three gates, or according to some, four. Antiquaries are divided as to the position of these gates, and the names of them. For as we find notice of more than four in ancient authors, we must conclude that some of the gates had more than one name. We read of the *Porta Carmentalis*, or *Scelerata*, *Pandana*, or *Saturnia*, *Romana*, or *Romanula*, *Mugionis*, or *Mugonia*, *Trigonia*, and *Janualis*.

In *Servius Tullius*' wall there were seven gates, and in the part which *Aurelian* added on the other side of the river there were three. To ascertain the precise number of gates before and after the time of *Aurelian* is difficult, if not impossible. Great confusion arises from different names being given to the same gate. The names of more than forty have been collected by some writers. Pliny says, that there were twenty-four, or according to some copies thirty-seven, in his time, i. e. in the reign of *Vespasian*: but these were probably not all in the outer wall, and some of them may have been in interior walls, which surrounded some of the seven hills. *P. Victor*, who wrote in the reign of *Valentinian*, mentions thirty-seven gates. *Procopius*^e says, that in his time there were fourteen, and some other smaller ones; which latter expression makes his testimony of little use.

An inscription states, that *Benedict XIV.* re-

^d Lib. iii. c. 5.

^e Lib. iii.

paired the whole circuit of the walls in 1749. Several other inscriptions recount what former popes had done; and these repairs have been so frequent, and at such different times, that it is difficult to say how much of the original building now exists. We learn from Cassiodorus^f, that Theodoric allowed the inhabitants to make use of the stones of an amphitheatre, to repair the walls, which had suffered by the invasion of the Visigoths, and partly by age^g. But Rome suffered most from the invasions of Vitiges and Totila. Procopius^h tells us, that when Belisarius entered Rome upon the departure of Vitiges, he found that the walls had in many places fallen down. He repaired them, and erected towers higher than the former ones. Procopius also mentions ditches round the walls. This was in the year 537. Speaking of the third Gothic war, he tells us, that Totila at first determined to level Rome with the ground, to set fire to the finest and most magnificent buildings, and to turn the whole city into pasture. Fortunately he did not execute his purpose; and during the residence of his army in Rome, about a third part of the wall was thrown down in different places. Shortly after he adds, “Belisarius “marched to Rome, the walls of which had “been thrown down by the Goths. As he could

^f Var. Epist. lib. i. 25.

^g This was probably the remainder of the amphitheatre of Statilius Taurus, which had been burnt in the reign of Nero.

^h Lib. iii.

“ not possibly build up in a short time that part
“ of the walls, which Totila had thrown down,
“ he piled the stones up which were lying near,
“ and put them together without any order; nor
“ had he mortar or any other kind of cement to
“ mix with them; but his only object was to give
“ it on the outside the appearance of a building.
“ On the inside, to support this mass of stones,
“ he fixed a great number of poles in the
“ ground. Besides this, he attended to the
“ ditches round the walls, and dug them deeper.
“ In short, by the incredible activity of the
“ whole army working together, all that Totila
“ had destroyed was repaired in fifteen days.”
This hasty work was strong enough to resist another siege, which was immediately commenced by Totila. Again, “ Which walls, when Narses
“ put an end to the Gothic war, were subsequently arranged and strengthened, Narses
“ himself supplying mortar and lime to the parts
“ which Belisarius had run up.” I have given these passages at length, because they may account in some measure for the motly appearance of the present walls. We must suppose, however, that some of the original building still exists.

Between the Porta Pia and S. Lorenzo there will be found a quadrangular projection, which is even older than the time of Aurelian. It was built by Tiberius for the Prætorian guards, and called the *Castrum Prætorium*. It was then out of the walls, but near to them, as we learn from

Plinyⁱ, Herodian^h, and J. Capitolinus^l. In stating this to be the work of Tiberius, I do not mean that every part of it is actually of that age. We know that it continued a square inclosure with barracks for the soldiers till the time of Constantine, who, according to Zosimus^m, dismissed the Prætorian guards, and pulled down their camp, when he took Rome upon the defeat and death of Maxentius. This projection was formerly supposed to have been the Vivarium, which Procopius tells us was near this place, and which seems to have formed part of the city walls. But the antiquaries are now agreed, that the space in question belonged to the Prætorian camp. The greatest part is well-built of brick; but some has been rebuilt in a very rough manner, apparently of the old materials, and some large stones. This latter part may have been the work of Belisarius, and some oddly-shaped towers are ascribed to him: but we can hardly suppose that the Goths threw down the whole of it, because then the repair would naturally have been carried on in a straight line, and the quadrangular form no longer preserved. Consequently much of the brick work is likely to be as old as the time of Tiberius.

Between the Porta del Popolo and Pinciana there is likewise a part which is very old. It is that which is under the Pincian hill, and seems

ⁱ Lib. iii. c. 5.

^h Lib. vii.

^l Vitæ Maximi et Balbini.

^m Hist. lib. ii.

to have been intended to keep up the bank. It is built in arches with deep recesses, and sometimes there are two rows of arches, one above the other. It is mostly of the *opus reticulatum*, which is a term used by Vitruvius^a to express a particular kind of building, which is composed of small stones, not set horizontally, but upon one of their angles, so as to have the appearance of net work. There is an idea now at Rome, that this is always a sign of great antiquity: but Vitruvius, by calling it very fashionable in his day, seems to indicate, that it had not been long introduced: and what is stronger, he expressly opposes it to the ancient method. He considers it as a perishable mode of building, and says, that several walls, where it was used, had tumbled down. But we have several instances where it still exists, and apparently in great strength: and this very portion of the Roman walls might be cited as one, unless indeed we attribute the inclination of the *Muro Torto* to this cause. That which is called the *Muro Torto* is a great mass of wall, considerably out of the perpendicular, and is supposed to have been so in the time of Aurelian. Procopius, who wrote in the sixth century, gives an exact description of it^o. "Near the Pincian gate there
"is a part of the wall which is rent, the stones
"having been separated for a long time: and

^a Lib. ii. c. 8. Pliny also mentions it, lib. xxxvi. c. 22.

^o Lib. iii.

“ this rent does not only begin from the middle,
“ but goes from the bottom to the top, and makes
“ the wall incline so much, yet without falling,
“ that it seems both to lean out and to be re-
“ cessed back, owing to the rent and breach in
“ it. Belisarius wished at this time to pull down
“ the part which inclined, and rebuild it; but the
“ Romans hindered him, saying, that they knew
“ for certain that St. Peter had promised to
“ guard that place. This turned out as they
“ had declared, for neither on that day, when
“ the Goths attacked nearly the whole circuit of
“ the walls, nor during the whole time of the
“ siege, did the enemy ever come to this spot,
“ nor was there any alarm there. I am certainly
“ very much surprised, that during so long a
“ siege neither the enemy nor the Romans re-
“ garded this place; and the affair having since
“ been deemed a miracle, no one has ventured
“ to repair this breach or build it anew: but this
“ rent may be seen to the present day.”

Another portion, which is undoubtedly as old as the time of Aurelian, if not older, is to be seen near the Porta Maggiore. It served for an aquaduct, with open arches at the top; and from the abrupt angles which the wall makes, where the aquaduct begins and terminates, it would rather seem that Aurelian took advantage of a building already existing, than that it was applied to the purpose of conveying water after it was built. This would give it a date considerably older than the time of Aurelian, and probably assign

it to the reign of Claudius, who formed this aquaduct.

The Amphitheatrum Castrense, between the Porta Maggiore and S. Giovanni, is another undoubted relict of the ancient walls : and like the Castrum Prætorium, it probably existed before, and was taken into the line. The date of this cannot be accurately known. It is all of brick, even the Corinthian pillars, and seems to have been but a rude structure, sufficient for the amusement of the soldiers, for whom it was built.

Between this and the Porta S. Giovanni the wall again serves for an aquaduct, and the foundations are the natural rock. Many other portions of the wall may probably be as old as Aurelian, but those which I have mentioned unquestionably are so, if not older ; and it would seem from what has been said of them, that the emperor was in a considerable hurry when he enlarged the circuit, and took advantage of any thing which was already standing and could serve his purpose. Or we may perhaps suppose, that it was in the time of Belisarius that these buildings were taken in, and the walls assumed their present motly appearance.

On the other side of the river there does not seem to have been much inclosure before the time of Aurelian, though the hill of the Janiculum must always have been in some measure fortified. We learn indeed from Procopius, that a wall had been raised round “ the little hill of

"the Janiculum," to protect the mills which were constructed in that quarter: and he adds, that after the bridge was built, which connected this hill with the city, several houses were erected there, so that the Tiber might thenceforward be said to pass through the middle of Rome. This bridge must have been the Ponte Sisto, which was called the Pons Janiculensis. We must remember, however, that the Vatican was not included in that part of the Janiculum which was fortified so early. The Janiculum itself extended much farther; and the name seems to have been applied to all that rising ground which reaches as far as the Ponte Molle. Livy tells us^p, that Ancus Martius first joined the Janiculum to the city, not because he wanted room for his subjects, but that an invading enemy might not be able to annoy the city from so commanding a position. The Pons Sublicius was also built in his time. Aurelian inclosed the portion which is now at the south-west angle of the city. The southern extremity of this wall met the river opposite to the wall on the other side, but a little higher up. The northern end of it was nearly opposite to the northern end of the wall of S. Tullius. In this there were three gates; the Porta Portuensis close to the river, called also Porta Navalis; the Porta Pancratiana, leading into the country; and Porta Septimiana, also by the river. This is thought to have its name from

^p Lib. i. c. 33.

the emperor Septimius Severus, from a passage in Ælius Spartianus, who says, that Septimius built baths in the Janiculum, at the gate called after his name. Some think it to have been also called Fontinalis, mentioned by Livy^a and Sextus Pompeius.

Till the time of Leo IV. the Vatican was not inclosed with a wall. Before the days of Constantine there were probably few houses in this neighbourhood. Tacitus^r and Lampridius speak of the air being extremely unwholesome, and of it being fuller of tombs than houses. But after Constantine built the Basilica of St. Peter, a new town arose; and the space between the tomb of Adrian and the Basilica was appropriated to the numerous strangers who flocked from all parts to visit this holy place. Anastasius, in his Life of Pascal I. who reigned A.D. 817-24, says, that during his pontificate, "owing to the neglect of
" some English, (Angli,) all the space inhabited
" by them, which in their language is called
" *Burgus*, was burnt to the ground, so that not
" even a trace of the former buildings could be
" found." The fire extended so far, that nearly the whole of the Portico, which led to the Basilica, was consumed'. In another place Anastasius calls this suburb *Saxonum Vicus*; and the name, which he says was given to it by these

^a Lib. xxxv. c. 10.

^r Hist. lib. ii. c. 93.

^{*} The fire, which happened in this suburb in the time of St. Leo, is the subject of one of Raffael's paintings in the Vatican.

foreigners, is still preserved in the term Borgo. During this time the Basilica of St. Peter was out of the city; and the church itself, as well as the neighbouring houses, were exposed to the frequent depredations of the Saracens. Leo IV. in the year 849 began to inclose the whole space with a wall: in which work he was assisted with money by the Emperor Lothaire, grandson of Charlemagne; and in four years it was finished. From hence this suburb acquired the name of the Leonine city. The wall which inclosed it was not connected with the more southern wall; so that on the west side of the Tiber there were two distinct fortifications.

In Leo's wall there were six gates, Porta S. Spirito, Turionis, Fabbrica, Pertusa, Pellegrini, and S. Pietro. The latter seems to have existed more anciently, and to have been called Porta Cornelia and Aurelia: for though it has been stated, that this wall was not raised till the time of Leo IV. yet there was a fortification round the tomb of Adrian much earlier, as we learn from Procopius, and Leo may have taken advantage of one of the gates in it. The Via Aurelia went out of it, which passed by Pisa and Genoa to Arelates (Arles.) Urban VIII. in 1643 connected the two fortifications, and in fact rebuilt the walls for the whole way; so that two of the gates, Septimiana and S. Spirito, became useless. They are still existing as gateways. Urban also rebuilt the Porta Portuensis, but not quite in the same place: it is now called

Porta Portese. The ancient and modern names were taken from the port on the Tiber, which was not far off. The next gate was perhaps anciently called Janiculensis, but as far back as Procopius' time, Pancratiana. Some have thought it to be the same with the Porta Aurelia; but Procopius talks of the tomb of Adrian as being just without the Porta Aurelia, and says expressly that the Porta Aurelia was called also S. Petri, from its vicinity to the Basilica. The Via Vitellia went out of this gate. The old wall of the Leonine City may still be seen in great part within the wall built by Urban VIII. It was of stone, and had large round towers. There are now only two open gates in this part, the Porta Cavalleggieri, formerly Turionis, and P. Angelica, formerly Pellegrini¹. The wall of the Leonine City has been repaired by several popes. In that part of the old or inner wall, which is between St. Peter's and the Castle of St. Angelo, there are eight gates, all opened by Pius IV. in 1564. Besides these some antiquaries have placed in this quarter the Porta Triumphalis, which is supposed to have been near the bridge of the same name.

On the left bank of the Tiber, the first gate on the north is the Porta del Popolo, of which some mention has already been made, where it was stated, that this gate serves instead of the Porta

¹ Over this gate may be seen the head of a noted robber.

Flaminia, built by Aurelian, which stood a little more to the east. The modern name is said to be derived either from some poplar trees, which grew round the Mausoleum of Augustus, or more probably from the great crowd of people, who enter by it. In the wall of S. Tullius there was also a Porta Flaminia upon the same road. This stood a good deal to the south-west, and near to the river, probably opposite to the north-wall of the Janiculum, and not far from the Farnese palace. It was also called Flumentana, and so Andrea Fulvio styles it, who wrote early in the sixteenth century. The present gate was erected by Pius IV., and partly with the materials of the former one. The exterior was after the designs of Michel Angelo, and some of the marble was furnished by the foundation of a pyramid found not far off. The inner front was finished by Alexander VII., upon the entrance of Christina, Queen of Sweden in 1655. The Via Flaminia began from this gate, which was paved in the censorship of C. Flaminius, and L. Paulus, U. C. 533. It went by Otriculum (Otricoli), Interamna (Terni), Forum Fortunæ (Fano), to Ariminum (Rimini). Here the Via Æmilia began, which was constructed, U. C. 567. when M. Æmilius Lepidus was consul. It passed by Bononia (Bologna), Parma, Placentia, Mediolanum (Milan), Brixia (Brescia), Verona, Patavium (Padua), to Aquileia. This also was sometimes called the Via Flaminia. Other roads fell

into it at different places, such as the Cassia, Aurelia, Annia, Claudia, Augusta, Cimina, Amerina, Sempronia, and Postumia.

The next gate is the Porta Pinciana, now shut up. It was also called Collatina : but the name of Pinciana is as old as the time of Procopius. The gateway is of stone, and ancient : probably such as it was at first ; but two round towers of brick seem much more modern.

The Porta Salara was so called from the circumstance of the Sabines coming for salt, which gave name to the road also*. It was called Quirinalis, Agonalis, or Agonensis, and Collina. It was repaired by Belisarius, and has two round towers. Alaric entered by it, and the destruction of all the buildings in the gardens of Sallust was probably effected then.

The Porta Pia was anciently called Nomentana, from the Sabine town of Nomentum. This also gave name to the Via Nomentana, which began originally from the Porta Viminalis, and afterwards from this gate. It joined the Via Salaria at Heretum, a town upon the Tiber. This road was also called Ficulnensis*. The gate had its present name from Pius IV, who rebuilt it in 1559 with the designs of Buonarotti ; but it was never finished. It had also the name of Agnese. It is a double gate. Before the walls were enlarged, the Porta Collina held the place of the three last gates ; and it was through this that the Gauls entered Rome. They

* Vide Plin. lib. xxxi. c. 41.

* Liv. lib. iii. c. 52.

marched along the Via Salaria; and the battle of the Allia was fought near the fourteenth mile from Rome, according to Vibius, or the eleventh according to Livy. Annibal also came near to the Porta Collina, to take a view of the city, when his army was encamped within three miles of it upon the Anio. He rode with two thousand horse as far as the Temple of Hercules^y. Pliny tells us^z, that he threw a spear within the walls.

We next come to the Porta S. Lorenzo, having first passed by two gateways, which are blocked up. One of these is perhaps the Porta Querquetulana, which Pliny^a, Varro, P. Victor, and Sex. Rufus, seem to place on the Viminal hill. Sex. Pompeius calls it Querquetularia. The ancient name of the Porta S. Lorenzo was Tiburtina, from its leading to Tibur or Tivoli; and it answered to the Porta Viminalis of S. Tullius' wall. Some suppose it to be the same with the Porta Gabina, or Gabiusa. The Via Tiburtina certainly began from the Porta Tiburtina; and as P. Victor says, that the Viæ Tiburtina and Gabia were the same, it is probable, that the gate also bore both names. The ground is raised about the gate almost to the very spring of the arch: so that we may infer it to be the original gate, or at least very ancient; the two angular towers seem to be modern.

^y Liv. lib. xxvi. c. 10. Plin. lib. xv. c. 20.

^z Lib. xxxiv. c. 15.

^a Lib. xvi. c. 10.

Some have given this gate the name of Inter Aggeres; others think it the same as what Pliny calls Querquetulana.

The Porta Maggiore is a very large work: it was originally a kind of triumphal arch, built as an ornament to the Claudian Aquaduct, and stood between the Viæ Prænestina, and Labicana. Aurelian or Belisarius took it into the new line, and placed the Porta Prænestina on one side of it, and the P. Labicana on the other. The latter was afterwards stopped up, and the P. Prænestina has taken the name of Porta Maggiore. There are three ancient inscriptions on it; one stating it to be the work of Tiberius Claudius; another mentioning the repair of it by Vespasian, and another by Titus. Before the new wall was built, the Viæ Prænestina and Labicana passed out of the P. Esquilina, or Mæcia; the former on the left, the Labicana on the right. Both fell into the Via Latina. We might partly ascertain the position of the ancient Porta Esquilina, because Frontinus says^b, that the water, called *Anio novus*, entered the city by that gate.

We next come to the Porta S. Giovanni. This gate is modern, having been built by Gregory XII. on which occasion the ancient Porta Asinaria close to it was shut up. This was called Cælimontana, and juxta Lateranos. But there was a P. Cælimontana before Aurelian's

^b Lib. i.

time, as Livy mentions it being struck with lightning, U. C. 559. It has two round towers. Tota entered by it the first time.

After passing a gate, which is blocked up, and known by the name of Porta di Metrodio, we come to the Porta Latina, which is also shut up, and is probably the same with that, which Plutarch calls Ferentina. Two round towers are attached to it, and a groove may be observed, as if for a port-cullice. Whether the ancients used any defence of this kind may be doubted. I am not aware of any mention of it, but there seems to have been something in this gate of a similar nature. According to Muratori^c, this as well as the Barbican (or ante-rampart to impede the approach of engines) was borrowed from the Saracens. It was near this spot that tradition makes St. John to have been put into the vessel of boiling oil, by order of Domitian; and a little chapel, now quite neglected, commemorates the event. It is not necessary to give an opinion as to the authenticity of this story, but there is at least respectable evidence for it, as it is mentioned by Tertullian^d, and S. Jerom^e.

We next come to the Porta S. Sebastiano, called formerly Capena and Appia. The base of the gateway and of the tower is formed of large blocks of marble, and is probably as old as

^c Antiq. Ital. Diss. 26.

^d De Præscr. c. 36.

^e In Jovin. lib. i. et comm. in Matt. c. 20.

any part of the walls. Before the time of Aurelian, one gate, the Porta Capena, answered the purpose of the two last mentioned, the Latina, and S. Sebastiano. Two roads then branched off from it: the Via Appia, going to the right, the Via Latina to the left. But when the walls were enlarged, two new gates were formed, and the roads commenced respectively from them. Perhaps we shall nearly ascertain the position of the ancient Porta Capena, by placing it between the churches of Nereo, and Cesareo, where at present two roads branch off. As the Via Appia was the most celebrated of all the Roman roads, this opportunity may be taken of describing its course more at length, and the nature of these works generally. It was made by Appius Claudius Cæcus, who was censor U. C. 441. In his time it went as far as Capua, but was afterwards carried on to Brundisium. It passed by Aricia (La Riccia), Algidum (Rocca del Papa), Terracina, Fundi (Fondi), Formiæ (Mola), Minturnæ (Garigliano), Capua, Naples, Nuceria (Nocera), Salernum (Salerno), Brundisium. The whole length was reckoned at 350 miles. Trajan did a good deal to repair it, (whence part of it was sometimes called Via Trajana,) as did Antoninus Pius. One great cause of its being out of order arose from the Pontine marshes^f. The

^f Perhaps the word should be written Pomptine. In the Greek of Dion. Hal. it is Pomentina; and Suessa Pometia, a city of the Volsci, seems to have given the name.

land occupied by them was inundated by the sea U. C. 440, according to Pliny, and he quotes Mucianus^g, as saying, that thirty-three cities formerly stood there: previous to which time we may suppose, that the land was particularly fertile, as we read of Rome looking to a supply of corn from thence, and in 372 it was divided amongst the people^h. One hundred and fifty-two years after the work of Appius, Corn. Cethegus Cos. again drained them, U. C. 593. In the time of J. Cæsar they were again marshy, and he was prevented from draining them by death. Augustus also did not succeed, though he undertook the work; so that the words of Horace were not quite true, or at least premature,

sterilisve diu palus aptaque remis
Vicinas urbes alit, et grave sentit aratrum.

Ars Poet. 65.

That there was no carriage road through the marshes, we learn from Horace himself, who in his journey to Brundisium passed them in a boatⁱ. Trajan carried the road through the marshes for a distance of nineteen miles. Theodosius and his two sons, Arcadius and Honorius, also repaired the road. In spite of all these successive labours, the marshes still remain. Pius VI. has perhaps effected as much as any of his predecessors, and a noble road has been constructed in a perfectly straight line for upwards

^g Lib. iii. c. 9.

^h Liv. lib. vi. c. 21.

ⁱ Sat. lib. i. 5.

of twenty miles. This road still remains good : but the pope's sanguine hopes of turning the marshes into fields, and inducing people to settle there, have totally failed. In order to provide his new settlers with religious comforts, he built a convent for some Capucins, and a church : but the former is now turned into a miserable inn, and the latter into a stable.

Procopius gives an excellent description of the Appian road^k. " An active man might travel
" the whole length of the Appian way in five
" days. It goes from Rome to Capua ; and is
" of sufficient breadth to allow two carriages to
" pass with ease^l. This road is more worthy of
" observation than any other : for Appius had
" stones cut from a different district, and I
" should think at some distance off ; a kind of
" flinty and excessively hard stone, which he
" had carried to this road. These, when they
" had been levelled and made smooth, and
" squared by cutting, he put down alternately,
" without any metal or any thing else to fasten
" them : and though they have been travelled
" for such a length of time by so many carriages
" and animals, yet we do not perceive that they
" have become disunited, or broken, or that they
" have lost any thing of their polish." It should be remembered, that this road had then existed

^k Lib. iii.

^l In some of the streets of Pompeii, the marks of the carriage-wheels remain. They measure four feet three inches.

nine centuries. Soon after leaving the gate of S. Sebastian, the road branches into two; that on the right is the Via Ardeatina, the Via Appia continues to the left. Several other roads joined the Via Appia, such as Setiana, Domitiana, &c. Horace tells us^m, that another road led to Brun-
dusium, called Via Numicia, or Minucia. The modern road to Naples is different from the Ap-
pian for a little way, leaving it to the right. It goes out at the Porta S. Giovanni, and joins the
Via Appia at Bovillæ, not far from Albano. The Via Latina went to Beneventum, through
Anagnia (Anagni), Ferentinum (Ferenti), Aquin-
um (Aquino), and Cassinum (Monte Cassino).

It was by the Porta Capena that Totila entered the second time. Close to it is another
gate, blocked up; and before we come to the
Porta S. Paolo, we may observe another door-
way also closed.

The Porta S. Paolo was anciently called Osti-
ensis, and the one, which we see at present was
rebuilt by Belisarius. It is a double gate, and
succeeded to the Porta Trigemina of the ancient
circuit. The Porta Nævica was also between the
Porta Capena and the river.

This detail will explain the names of the gates
now existing, and some of the ancient ones,
which are best known. But as many other
names are to be found in ancient authors, I will
subjoin an alphabetical list of all which I have

^m Epist. lib. i. 18, 20.

been able to discover, and as far as I am able give some account of them.

Agonalis, or Agonensis: the modern P. Salara.

S. Angelo: in the Leonine city.

Appia: same as Capena.

Ardeatina: either Latina or S. Sebastiano.

Aurelia: in the Leonine city.

Capena: vide above.

Carmentalis: one of the four gates of Romulus.

Catularia: same as P. Pia.

Cælimontana: same as P. S. Giovanni.

Collatina: same as Pinciana.

Collina: vide above.

Esquilina: same as P. Maggiore.

Fenestralis.

Ferentina: same as P. Latina.

Ficulnensis: same as Viminalis.

Flaminia: same as P. del Popolo.

Flumentana: same as Flaminia.

Fontinalis: same as P. Septimiana.

Gabina, or Gabiusa: same as S. Lorenzo.

Janiculensis: same as S. Pancrazio.

Janualis: one of the four gates of Romulus.

Julia: in the Leonine city.

Labicana: close to P. Maggiore.

Lavernalis: same as Viminalis.

Libitinensis: same as S. Lorenzo.

Mæcia: same as Esquilina.

Mugiona: on the Palatine hill.

Munutia, or Minutia.

Mutionis, or Mugiona.

Nævia: vide above.

Navalis: same as P. Portese.

Nomentana: same as P. Pia.

- Ostiensis**: same as P. S. Paolo.
Palatii: in the Leonine city.
Pandana: one of the four gates of Romulus.
Peregrini: in the Leonine city.
Pertusa: ditto.
S. Petri: ditto.
Piacularis: same as Latina.
Portuensis: same as P. Portese.
Posterula: same as Turionis.
Prænestina: same as P. Maggiore.
Querquetulana: near the P. Viminalis.
Quirinalis: same as P. Salara.
Ratumana: the first P. Flaminia.
Rauduscula: same as P. Esquilina.
Romana:
Romanula: } one of the four gates of Romulus.
Saginalis, or **Sanqualis**.
Salaria: vide above.
Salutaris: same as P. Collina.
Saturnia: same as Pandana.
Scelerata: same as Carmentalis.
S. Spirito: vide above.
Stercoraria: ancient gate on the Capitol.
Tarpeia: same as Carmentalis.
Tiburtina: same as S. Lorenzo.
Trigemina: vide above.
Trigonia: vide Mutionis.
Triumphalis: near the Pons Triumphalis.
Turionis: in the Leonine City.
Valeria: same as P. Latina.
Veientana.
Viminalis: vide above.
Vinaria; same as Portuensis.
Viridaria: in the Leonine City.

This account of the gates, though tedious, will perhaps interest those who are fond of ancient topography. We may however proceed to a point, which is likely to be the first in engaging the attention of those who visit Rome. The seven hills will be among the earliest objects which they seek out. If we followed the gradual progress which Rome made in arriving at its present extent, we should begin with the Palatine hill, where Evander resided when Æneas first landed, and where Romulus afterwards established his infant settlement. Of this however little remains to be said, besides what has been mentioned already. A belief that it was the first spot occupied by their ancestors, was sufficient to endear it to the Romans; and tradition increased this feeling by making it the place where Romulus and Remus were deposited by the Tiber. The Ficus Ruminalis, under which the wolf was found suckling them, was preserved and shewn for ages after. Tacitus describes it^a as having died down and revived again in his time. Pliny also mentions it as still existing^o. It was here also that fable represented the cave of Cacus to have been. It has been observed already, that few or no remains exist now on this hill, except those of the Palace of Nero; and what Virgil says of the Capitoline hill may be applied to the modern state of the

^a Annal. xiii. 58.

^o Plin. l. xv. c. 18. *Rumen* signifies the same as *Mamma*.

Palatine, though unfortunately we must reverse the expression :

Aurea nunc, olim sylvestribus horrida dumis.

ÆN. viii. 348.

Of the remains of Nero's Golden House I shall not attempt a description, as they consist only of irregular fragments of building dispersed over a very large space, and of some subterraneous chambers ornamented with paintings. They are very interesting to see, but a short time will suffice for exploring them. The most considerable remains are those which look down upon the Circus Maximus.

Augustus lived in a house which formerly belonged to the orator Hortensius, and which was by no means conspicuous for splendor. Suetonius tells us^p that "he lived near the Roman Forum, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards on the Palatine hill, but still in the moderately-sized house of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for extent nor ornament: it had narrow porticos of Alban columns, and rooms without any marble or remarkable pavement. He occupied the same chamber in winter and summer for more than forty years." It was burnt during the reign of Augustus, and he rebuilt it. Dionysius tells us^q, that when the palace was accidentally destroyed by fire, Augustus ordered

^p Cap. 72.

^q Lib. lv.

the whole of the house, as soon as it was finished, to be opened to the public; either because the people had contributed money towards the building of it, or that being Pontifex Maximus he might live in a building which was at once public and private. Tiberius made some additions; and Caligula extended it even to the Forum, by means of a kind of bridge: the Temple of Castor and Pollux was transformed into a vestibule to the palace[†], and porticos of great extent were attached to it. Claudius restored the temple to its former office[‡], so that he probably destroyed the bridge above mentioned. But all these additions and all this splendor sunk into nothing, when compared with the Golden House which Nero built when the former palace was burnt down. Some idea of its splendor and extent may be formed from the account of Tacitus[§], who tells us, that besides the usual costly decorations of a palace, there were within the precincts of it fields and woods and pools of water. It reached from the Palatine to the Esquiline hill, covering all the intermediate space, where the Colosseum now stands. When it was finished, the emperor is said to have exclaimed, that now he could live like a man^{||}! Domitian still farther increased the size and splendor of the building[¶]. It was burnt a third time, in the reign of Commodus, and rebuilt by that emperor.

[†] Sueton. c. 22. [‡] Dion. Hal. lib. lx. [§] Annal. l. xv. c. 42.

^{||} Suet. c. 31. [¶] Suet. Domit. c. 15.

In the time of Theodoric it was in a state of decay, and he undertook the repairing of it⁷.

CAPITOL.

To most persons the Capitoline hill will be even more interesting than the Palatine. The earliest history of Rome makes us acquainted with the latter, but the Capitol is conspicuous through every stage of its grandeur. When it first became part of the city is not so well ascertained, but it is generally supposed that it was taken in when Tatius was admitted to a partnership in the throne with Romulus. The origin of its name, from the head of Tulus being found here in digging for the foundations, and the oracle which predicted universal empire to those who occupied it, are well known². From whence the story arose it is impossible to discover; but the invention of the prophecy was at least politic: and it is singular how early the Romans seem to have talked of the extended empire which their descendants were one day to hold. It may however be objected, that several expressions, which Livy puts into the mouths of his speakers, were purposely used by him without reference to the feelings of those times. The thatched cottage of Romulus stood on this hill, and was preserved till a late period, never having been repaired in a more costly form. It is mentioned by Lactantius, who wrote about A.D.

⁷ Cassiodor. Var. Epist. lib. vii. c. 5.

² Vid. Liv. lib. i. c. 55.

320, and by Macrobius, who lived at the end of the same century.

The Capitoline hill seems more anciently to have been called Saturnius and Tarpeius. The name is now corrupted into Campidoglio. This, like the other hills, was much more marked formerly, as a steep and precipitous eminence, than it is at present. The top has been levelled, and the ground at the bottom has been raised, but still the ascent is extremely steep. The circuit of the hill may be reckoned about a mile at the base; but it is probably less extensive now than formerly, as much of the soft rock has been cut away, and some has fallen of itself. The ascent from the side of the Campus Martius is by an inclined plain: and from the same point at the bottom commences another ascent of one hundred and twenty-four marble steps, leading to the Church of Ara Cæli. The two summits of this hill are still very perceptible: they were distinguished formerly by the terms *Arx* and *Capitolium*. The former was on the southern side, and the highest of the two, facing the river, the Theatre of Marcellus, and Mount Aventine. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus stood upon it. That which was more peculiarly styled *Capitolium*, and faced the north, contained a more ample space than the other. The principal temple upon it was that of Jupiter Feretrius, nearly on the site of which is the Church of Ara Cæli.

The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus was the most splendid in Rome, having been first begun

by Tarquinius Priscus, who only lived to finish the foundations, or rather to make preparations for them, by levelling the summit of the hill. For we learn from Livy^a, that Tarquinius Superbus, who resumed and completed the work, spent a large sum upon the foundations only. Fabius Pictor stated it at 40 talents, which had been the estimate for finishing the whole edifice. Dionysius says 400 talents; and Calpurnius Piso, with whom Plutarch agrees^b, names 40000 pounds weight of silver. The Temple was dedicated by M. Horatius Pulvillus, who was consul the first year after the expulsion of the kings: his name was inscribed upon it^c. Dionysius, speaking of it^d, says, "The temple stands
 " upon a lofty foundation, with a circumference
 " of eight *plethra*, (about eight hundred feet,) and
 " nearly two hundred feet on each side; there
 " being scarcely a difference of fifteen feet between the length and the breadth. The front
 " looks towards the south. It has a portico with
 " a triple row of pillars: on the sides there is a
 " double row. Three equal chapels (*σηκοί*) are
 " included within the walls, having common
 " sides: that of Jupiter is in the middle; on one
 " side that of Juno, on the other that of Minerva,
 " all under the same roof." I have quoted his words in this place, although Dionysius was describing the temple as it was in his days, i. e. in

^a Lib. i. c. 55.

^b In Poplicola.

^c Dion. Hal. lib. v.

^d Lib. iii.

the time of Augustus; but the dimensions of it always continued the same, and there were from the first three chapels to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. The thresholds of the original building were of brass^e, but not made so till U. C. 458. The pillars, which supported the roof, were of brick white-washed: at least we might be led to suppose that they were not of stone, as Livy mentions^f that M. Æmilius Lepidus had them made smooth and plaistered, (*poliendas albo locavisse*.) Shields and other military trophies were affixed to these pillars, all which were removed by the same Lepidus. Asdrubal's shield, which was of silver, and weighed 138 pounds, together with a statue of him, was suspended over the doors, and remained there till the first fire^g. The roof of the interior was made of timber, and gilt after the destruction of Carthage, U. C. 612^h. At the same time the pavement in the interior was laid down in Mosaic. On the top of it was a car drawn by four horses, and the god Summanus in it, all made of baked clayⁱ. Summanus is supposed to be Pluto; yet Ovid seems doubtful what deity bore that title; and Livy^k mentions a car of Jupiter being placed on the top in 456, but this was of bronze. There

^e Liv. lib. x. c. 23. ^f Lib. xl. c. 51. ^g Liv. lib. xxv. c. 39. Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 4. ^h Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18. ⁱ Plin. lib. xxix. c. 35. Plutarch. Poplic. Cicero de Divin. lib. i. ^k Lib. x. c. 23.

was a portico placed in front of this temple, U.C. 578¹, and another in 594 by Scipio Nasica^m.

The Temple was burnt U.C. 670, in the wars of Marius and Sylla, and restored by the latter upon the same foundations, with pillars of a variegated marble from the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athensⁿ. The man who had imbrued his hands so deeply in his country's blood, was not permitted to consecrate the national sanctuary. Sylla died before the dedication, and that ceremony was performed by Q. Catulus, whose name was inscribed upon it^o: and we may still read in an apartment, which has been used for keeping salt,

Q. LVTATIVS. Q. F. CATVLVS. COS. SVBSTRVCTIONEM
ET. TABVLARIVM. S. S. FACIENDVM
COERAVIT

He had also the bronze tiles upon the roof gilt, which some of his contemporaries censured in him, as an act of extravagance^p.

It was again burnt in the time of Vitellius, A.D. 69, and rebuilt on a loftier scale, but not of greater extent, by Vespasian^q, who laboured with his own hands to make a commencement of the work^r. Again under Titus, and was restored by Domitian. The former Athenian pil-

¹ Liv. lib. xli. c. 27. ^m Velleius, lib. ii. c. 1. ⁿ Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 6. and lib. xxxvi. c. 6. ^o Plin. lib. xix. c. 1.
^p Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 18. ^q Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. c. 53. ^r Suetonius.

lars being destroyed, he brought others of Pentelic marble from Athens; but, according to Plutarch^a, by smoothing and polishing them too much, he made them too slender, and hurt their proportions. In the bas-reliefs on the pillar of Trajan a temple is represented, where that emperor is sacrificing after his first Dacian war. This ought to be the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, as rebuilt by Domitian: but we cannot depend much upon the accuracy of the delineation, and the building is extremely inelegant¹. Domitian gilded the outside of the roof, as Catulus had done to the second temple; and Plutarch tells us^u, that more than 12000 talents were expended upon the work. Claudian^x mentions the carved doors, and some winged figures, probably victories, on the top of the temple. It seems to have suffered partially from fire in the reign of Commodus^y.

We have no information at all from ancient authors as to what order of architecture was adopted in any of these successive buildings. We might rather conjecture it to have been Doric; and the pillars brought from Athens, first by Sylla and afterwards by Domitian, probably were so. The statue of Jupiter in the first tem-

^a Poplic.

¹ In the engravings which have been published of Trajan's Column by Ciacono, this is the seventy-sixth plate.

^u Poplic.

^x Panegy. in Honorium.

^y Paul. Oros. Euseb. Chron.

ple was of baked clay, and according to some readings painted red^a. A work even so rude as this was more than the Romans themselves could effect in those days; and an artist was hired from Tuscany to produce even an earthen statue for the Capitol. Juvenal says,

Hanc rebus Latiis curam præstare solebat
Fictilis, et nullo violatus Jupiter auro.

SAT. xi. 116.

Ovid also,

Jupiter exigua vix notus stabat in Æde,
Inque Jovis dextra fictile fulmen erat.

FASTI, lib. i.

Plutarch says expressly^a, that the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was destroyed by the fire in Sylla's time. But whether this was the original one of clay, or another of more valuable materials had succeeded to it, is not certain. The latter is probably the fact, as a golden thunderbolt, weighing fifty pounds, was placed in his hand, U. C. 535^b. It is the opinion of Ryck^c, that there was a statue of ivory^d. The beard was certainly of gold, as we learn from Suetonius^e. Pliny however tells us^f, that the whole statue

^a Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 12.

^b De Iside et Osiride.

^c Liv. lib. xxii. c. 1.

^d He wrote a Latin Treatise, in 12mo. upon the Capitol and its ornaments.

^e Cf. Plin. lib. xii. c. 1. Arnobius, lib. vi.

^f Calig. c. 52.

^g Lib. vii. c. 39. Lib. xxxiii. c. 55.

had been made of gold, but that it did not exist in his time, having been destroyed by the fire: and it appears^s that he spoke of the fire which took place in the time of Vitellius. Indeed the third fire, in the time of Titus, did not take place till after the publication of his history. It was the work of Mentor, who acquired great celebrity by working in gold. Trajan was the first who made the three statues of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, of gold: at least we have this epigram in Martial,

Scriptus es æterno nunc primum, Jupiter, auro
Et soror, et summi filia tota patris. XI. 5, 3.

Ryck would read *sculptus* for *scriptus*, because he thinks that the statues were of solid gold. But *scriptus auro* can only mean gilt: and as Martinus Polonus, in his description of Rome, says, that there was a golden statue of Jupiter upon a golden throne, it is probable that so large a mass was made of some less precious metal, and gilded. If the tradition be true, that St. Leo, who was pope from 440 to 461, had the statue of St. Peter made out of the bronze of Jupiter Capitolinus, the question is decided.

Towards the end of the fourth century, Stilicho took away the plates of gold from the great doors^h. Procopius saysⁱ, that Genseric plun-

^s Lib. xxxiv. c. 17.

^h Zosimus, lib. v. Rutil. Numat. Itin.

ⁱ Lib. i.

dered it in 455, and carried off half of the tiles, which were of bronze gilt. Platina also tells us, that Pope Honorius removed the bronze tiles from the Capitol, and roofed the Basilica of St. Peter's with them. But as Anastasius says, that he took them from the Temple of Venus and Rome, the fact must be considered uncertain. Totila appears to have burnt part of it, and Theodoric undertook to repair it. Insensibly however as Christianity gained ground, the Pagan temples, and this among the rest, lost their votaries. Prudentius, who wrote about A. D. 400, says,

Jamque ruit, paucis Tarpeia in rupe relictis,
Ad sincera virum penetralia Nazareorum,
Atque ad Apostolicos Evandria Curia fontes.

CONTRA SYM. lib. i. 549.

The words of Jerom, who wrote about the same time, may also be quoted: "Auratum squalet
"Capitolium, fuligine et araneorum telis omnia
"Romæ templa cooperta sunt. Movetur Urbs
"sedibus suis, et inundans populus ante delubra
"semiruta currit ad Martyrum tumulos." S. Ambrose, Augustin, and Arnobius, might be cited to the same purpose.

The Intermontium, or space between the two summits, was where Romulus opened the Asylum. It is now occupied by the Piazza del Campidoglio, a large open space, the buildings of which were raised upon the designs of Michel Angelo; but the effect of them is not pleasing.

These buildings form three sides of a square: in front is the Palazzo Senatorio, built upon the ruins of the ancient Tabularium, or Record-office; and in descending to the Forum a considerable part of the old foundations may be seen. The present building was erected by Boniface IX. and has its name from courts of justice being held there, at which the senator presides. It seems ridiculous to talk of the senator in the singular number: but such is the case; the name of that venerable body being now preserved only in the office of one man, who is appointed by the pope. We still find the initials S. P. Q. R. affixed over public buildings, and carried in processions: the Romans say also, that the senator represents the people. But considering the mode of his appointment, the high rank from which he is always chosen, and the necessity of his being a foreigner, we cannot conclude that the democratical part of the Roman government is very powerful. He has control over the city-guard; and throughout the whole office we find an evident resemblance to that of *Po-destà*, which prevailed in nearly all the Italian cities in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In the buildings, which form the two other sides of this square, the Museum Capitolinum is contained. The ascent from the plain, and the square above, are full of remains of antiquity. On the balustrade at the bottom are two Egyptian lionesses, spouting out water. They came from the Church of S. Stefano del Cacco,

which is thought to have been built over a temple of Isis, which might account for these Egyptian antiquities being found there. Pliny mentions the material of which these animals are made, and calls it *Basaltes*^k. According to him the Egyptians brought it from Ethiopia, and in their language the name expressed its ferruginous colour and hardness.

On the top are two colossal statues of marble, said to be Castor and Pollux, standing by their horses. Some have wished to identify them with two similar figures mentioned by Pliny^l, as the work of Hegesias, and which stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans. Winkelmann rather leans to this opinion^m; and adds, that they were found under the hill of the Capitol. But the fact is undoubtedly otherwise. They were found in the Jews' quarterⁿ: and Pliny says explicitly, that the figures made by Hegesias were in bronze.

By the side of them are two large trophies in marble, generally called the trophies of Marius. They came from the Castello dell' Acqua Givlia; but were originally dug up near the church of S. Eusebio; and as the part near this church has always been called *I Cimbri*, it has been thought, that some memorial of Marius' victory

^k Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

^l Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

^m Lib. vi. c. 1. §. 25.

ⁿ Vide Montfaucon *Diarium Ital.* p. 267. who quotes Flaminus Vacca.

over the Cimbri existed here. It is certain, that Marius erected some trophies for his victories over Jugurtha, the Cimbri, and Teutones, which were thrown down by Sylla and restored by J. Cæsar, as we learn from Suetonius^o. Some have thought them to relate to Domitian, among whom is Winkelmann; and he says, that there was an inscription under them to that effect, before they were removed^p. Others ascribe them to Trajan.

Near to them are two statues of Constantine Cæsar, and Constantine Augustus, found in the baths upon the Quirinal hill. The names are inscribed upon them; but both are considered to belong to the Emperor Constantine. Eusebius mentions, that after that emperor's victory over Maxentius, a statue was erected to him with a cross attached to it. At the back of that, which has CONSTANTINVS AVG on it, there is a fragment resembling the handle of a spear, which has been thought to have been part of this cross.

Lastly, there is erected in the same row the first milestone upon the Appian way. The inscription is wonderfully perfect, and the wretched distich, which is now placed under it, is worth copying;

Quæ peregrina diu steteram Mensura viarum,
Nunc Capitolini Culminis Incola Sum.

It was found in the Vigna Naro, a little on the

^o J. Cæs. c. 11.

^p Lib. vi. c. 6. §. 60.

right, out of the Porta S. Sebastiano, and marked the first mile from Rome. The antiquaries are not agreed as to where this measurement commenced from. Some place it at the ancient Porta Capena; but Dio tells us^a, that Augustus placed a milestone in the Forum, which was called *Milliarium Aureum*: and Plutarch says^r, that all the roads in Italy terminated at this milestone, which would seem to decide the point. The place, where this stone was found, is not above a mile from the Forum.

In the middle of the square is an equestrian statue of M. Aurelius, of bronze. It stood originally in the Forum, from whence it was removed to St. John Lateran in 1187; and in 1538, Paul III. had it placed here. A bunch of flowers is presented every year to the chapter of St. John Lateran, as an acknowledgment that the statue belongs to them: and till lately there was an officer, called Custode del Cavallo, who received ten crowns per month for taking care of this horse. It is the only bronze equestrian statue remaining of ancient Rome; and was formerly called the statue of Constantine, L. Verus, or Sept. Severus. Some persons have fancied, that they observed an owl in the main, and have concluded from thence, that the artist, who made the statue, was an Athenian^s. It is

^a Lib. liv.

^r Galba, c. 31.

^s Vide Montfaucon Diar. Ital. c. 22.

certain, that this statue was originally gilt; of which some traces still remain. Hence, as Winkelmann observes¹, we may conclude, that the gold was laid on by the ancients in very thick leaves. That this was the method of gilding metal, we learn from Pliny², who explains the whole process. He tells us, however³, that it had not been long practised, and doubts whether Rome had the merit of first introducing it. Statues in bronze were frequently gilt, as we may see in a Hercules in the Capitol, where much of the gold remains, in the horses at Venice, and in the fragments of four horses and a chariot found at Herculaneum. This perhaps is the reason why copper was sometimes used instead of bronze, as the latter was too valuable to cover with gilding. The Venetian horses are of copper, but the statue of M. Aurelius is of bronze. Montfaucon⁴ erroneously says, that it was made by the hammer; but it certainly was cast. In the life of Cola di Rienzo⁵, (that extraordinary character, who in 1347 revived the office of Tribune at Rome, but was unable to maintain it,) we read, that during the rejoicings upon that occasion, wine was made to run out of one nostril of the horse, and water out of the other. It would seem from the same

¹ Lib. iv. c. 7. §. 41.

² Lib. xxxiii. c. 20.

³ Lib. xxxiv. c. 9.

⁴ *Diar. Ital.* p. 169.

⁵ Written in Italian, by Fortifiocca, and in French, by Cerceau.

account, that the figure of M. Aurelius had not then been discovered, as mention is only made of the horse, and it is called that of Constantine.

Where this statue now stands, were formerly two colossal figures; one of Apollo, thirty cubits high; the other of Jupiter Capitolinus, which was so lofty, that it could be seen from the Mons Laticialis, near Albano, a distance of twenty miles. It was made by Sp. Carvilius, out of the armour taken from the Samnites, when they were vanquished, U. C. 455 ^a.

On the southern summit of this hill, which is more peculiarly styled the Capitol, there is no remnant of any ancient building. The Tarpeian Rock may still be discovered, though it is surrounded by buildings. The part, which is shewn in a garden, is in fact more a wall than a rock; though as the stones and bricks are of course only a facing to it, it cannot be proved that this is not the place from which criminals were thrown down: and a classical experimentalist might perhaps even now satisfy himself of the fact by submitting to a fall. This seems to be the highest part, and the perpendicular depth may be fifty feet: but as the soil has accumulated exceedingly at the bottom, it may have been nearly double that height. Ficoroni ^b says, that he measured it, and found it sixty feet, exclusive of

^a Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 18.

^b Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 93.

the building that had been added upon it. It may be interesting to read a description of the Rock, as given by an ancient author. Seneca, or rather Arell. Fuscus, as recorded by him, says of it, "*Stat moles abscissa in profundum, frequentibus exasperata saxis, quæ aut elidunt corpus, aut de integro gravius impellant. Inhorrent scopulis enascentibus latera, et immensæ altitudinis tristis aspectus: electus potissimum locus, ne damnati sæpius dejectantur.*" In another place he says, "*Secure etiam despicientibus esset horrenda.*" Walking under the Capitol on this same side, I observed another part of the bare rock, which is quite perpendicular, and almost high enough to kill a person, who fell from it.

Between the Palazzo Senatorio and the Museum on its right, is the principal modern descent to the Forum, nearly in the direction of the ancient Clivus Asyli, which was one of the three ascents to the Capitol from the Forum, and by which the commanders passed in triumph. In 1817 the original pavement of this road was discovered, when the Arch of Septimius Severus was cleared out, under which the road passed: and it would appear from the work of Barthol. Marlianus, (who lived in the time of Sextus IV.) that the same pavement had been discerned shortly before his time. He says it was seven feet wide. The same is related by L. Fauno, who wrote in the reign of Julius III.: and they both probably speak of the time when the Temple of Concord

was destroyed to make lime. This road was paved by order of the censors, U. C. 579^c. The three ascents were, 1, That of the Tarpeian Rock, which went by a flight of one hundred steps from the western extremity of the Forum^d. 2. The Clivus Capitolinus, which had two branches: one passed under the Arch of Tiberius towards the Hospital della Consolazione: the other near the Arch of Sept. Severus, and between the Temples of Fortune and Jupiter Tonans. These two branches united behind the Temple of Fortune; and from thence the Clivus Capitolinus led straight to the Intermonitium. 3. The Clivus Asyli passed under the Arch of S. Severus, and, going a little to the left of the present ascent, conducted also to the Intermonitium.

The triumphal processions passed, as has been observed, by the Clivus Asyli. The line of their march was different, according to which side of the Tiber the victorious army returned from. If the battle had been fought on the north or west of Rome, the general waited on the right side of the river, till the senate had granted him permission to celebrate his triumph. When this was obtained, he passed over the Pons Triumphalis,

^c Liv. lib. xli. c. 27.

^d *Diversos Capitolii aditus invadunt, juxta lucum Asyli, et qua Tarpeia rupes centum gradibus aditur.* (Tacit. Hist. lib. iii. c. 71.) Cicero uses the expression "*Gradibus Concordiæ*," (7 Pilipp.) when speaking of these steps, because a Temple of Concord overhung them.

and went along the *Via Recta*, now Strada Giulia, to the Circus Maximus, where he received the applause of the assembled people. He then wound round the Palatine hill, passed by the spot where the Arch of Constantine now stands, and so reached the Forum by the *Via Sacra*. The procession then ascended the Capitol, having gone under the Arch of S. Severus. Some of the buildings here mentioned were of late date: but the processions seem always to have taken the same course, before the several Arches were erected. If the victory was achieved on the other side of Rome, the general waited outside of the Porta Flaminia, or the Porta Capena: and as soon as the senate had granted him leave, he commenced his triumphal procession. Having passed through the Circus Flaminius, which before the time of Aurelian was without the walls, and there received applause, he went under the Porta Triumphalis, which seems to have been only open on these solemnities. He then went by the Theatre of Marcellus, through the Velabrum, and Forum Boarium, into the Circus Maximus. From thence his course was, as in the preceding case.

MUSEUM CAPITOLINUM.

Before we quit the Capitol, some account will be expected of the antiquities contained in the Museum. It is not however the object of these pages to give a catalogue of the works of art. To mention them in detail would require a se-

parate volume or volumes ; and a mere enumeration of them would not satisfy^e. I shall therefore select a few of the most striking objects, and occasionally throw in any illustration of them, which I may chance to have found.

The Museum is contained in the two buildings which stand on each side of the Palazzo Senatorio. That which is on the right hand is almost exclusively filled with antiquities. In the court is the celebrated statue of Marforio, which is thought by some to have represented the ocean, by others the Rhine. It probably derives its present name from the Forum of Mars, near which it was found. Marforio owes his celebrity to having been fixed upon as the answerer of all those satirical sayings which were affixed upon Pasquino. This latter figure stands at the corner of the Via di S. Pantaleo, towards the Piazza Navona. It was found in the sixteenth century, and placed over against the shop of one Pasquino, a tailor, where all persons used to meet who wished to abuse their neighbour. It has been thought to represent Menelaus supporting the body of Patroclus ; but it is sadly mutilated. Maffei, in his *Collection of Statues*, No. 42, calls it Ajax supported by his brother. It nearly resembles that which stood formerly by the Ponte Vecchio, at Florence. Bernini seems to have

^e A work was published in 1750, by Bottari, in two volumes folio, called *Museum Capitolinum*, in which are engravings of most of the busts and statues. There is also the *Museo Capitolino*, by P. Giorgi.

considered this mutilated statue as one of the finest remains of antiquity^f. The same pope who placed Marforio in the Capitol, wished to confine Pasquino there also: but the Marquis, to whom he belonged, prevented it. His descendant is still obliged to pay a fine, if any scandal is found affixed to it^g.

The first room, which claims attention here, is appropriately called Canopus, being devoted to Egyptian sculpture. Many of the figures however are not the production of Egypt, having been purposely executed in imitation of the Egyptian style for Adrian's Villa, at Tivoli^h. This may be thought bad taste in the Emperor; but modern times afford many examples of similar partiality for the grotesque: and if these specimens were correctly copied, they furnished an interesting illustration of Egyptian manners and worship. Adrian had a temple built in his Villa at Tivoli, which he called Canopus, and ornamented with figures carved in the Egyptian style. In some the ancient models were strictly copied; in others an attempt was made to unite the Egyptian and Grecian styles together. The Antinous pre-

^f Bandinucci, *Vita di Bernini*, p. 72. Bernini, *V. di Caval. Bernini*, p. 13.

^g Vide Spence's *Anecdotes*, p. 113.

^h We may find some account of the construction of this Villa in Spartian. It contained within its precincts several temples, two theatres, copies of the most magnificent buildings in Greece, &c. &c.; and the ruins of it embrace a circuit of nearly ten Italian miles.

served in the Capitol is a specimen of the latter taste. Winkelmann also has a remark upon this statueⁱ, which illustrates a curious fact in the history of Egyptian sculpture. Diodorus Siculus tells us^k, that after the stone was hewn into the proper proportions, it was cut into two, and each part was given to a different sculptor to finish. Winkelmann adds, that the Antinous of the Capitol, though only an imitation, bears marks of having been thus divided and rejoined.

Sculpture never attained any excellence in Egypt. Plato remarks^l, that the statues executed there in his time did not differ in form or in any other respect from those which had been made 10000 years before. This seems to be the true character of the Egyptian sculptors. They made no progressive improvement from their first rude attempts. The deficiency was in design; and the human form in particular seems never to have been sufficiently studied, with a view to representing it in sculpture^m. This may perhaps lead us to infer, that the great excellence of the art in Greece was partly owing to the deification of their heroes. If a god was to be exe-

ⁱ Lib. ii. c. 2. §. 2.

^k Lib. i. ad fin.

^l De Leg. ii. p. 522.

^m It is remarked by Ficoroni, that the two best Egyptian statues in Rome were the Hercules with a lion's skin over his head, in the Capitol; and the richer Zingara at the Villa Borg-hese [now in the Louvre]. He adds, that they might be known to be Egyptian by that fulness about their mouths. Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 85.

cuted in marble, he was to bear the human form : he was in every respect to be a man. But in Egypt, where beasts and monsters were selected as divinities, there was not the same chance of the human form being well modelled : the imagination there was not elevated and refined by contemplating the creation of a god : and even the same wish of perpetuating the likeness of a mortal did not exist, when the bodies themselves were preserved for centuries in the form of mummies. The great excellence of the Italian painters at the time of the revival of the arts may also be attributed to the great demand for religious subjects. The Virgin Mary may at least be called the patron of painters : and Catholics might say, that she had revenged herself upon the Protestants by not assisting them in this art. We may add to these causes the fact, which seems undoubtedly true, that the Egyptians were not so finely formed as the Greeks ; that artists were held in no estimation amongst them ; and anatomy, a knowledge of which is so essential to a sculptor, was strictly prohibited in Egypt.

One of their deities is however represented under the form of a man. This is Serapis, of whom there is a statue in this Museum. Some obscurity hangs over the history of this deity. He is said to answer to the Jupiter, Dis, and Pluto, of Grecian worship : but it is not certain at what time he found a place in the Egyptian Calendar. Augustin tells us ⁿ, that Apis king of

ⁿ Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

Argos came to Egypt, and upon his death became Serapis. Eusebius says, that Apis was their third king; and the invention of the plough and of vineyards is attributed to him^o. An ornament will be observed on his head, the meaning of which is differently interpreted. It was called in Latin, *Modius* or *Calathus*. Isidorus^p describes it as a light utensil, made of reeds or rushes, in which the daily work was put, or flowers were gathered. It also denotes fertility and abundance. Ruffinus^q takes it to signify, that every thing is directed by rule and measure; (in which he gives the meaning of *Modius*;) or that life is granted to mortals by a liberal allowance of the fruits of the earth. It may be observed, that Æsculapius is also drawn with the *Modius* of fecundity on his head; and by some he is considered to be the same with Osiris.

Isis is represented with a plume of feathers on her head^r: and another figure of the same deity has cavities for eyes of some other material.

Other figures will be found in this room, holding a *sistrum* in their hands. This, which was an instrument of music, or rather of noise, derived its name from a Greek word signifying *to shake*. Apuleius^s describes it as a brazen rattle, which was carved so as to resemble the form of a

^o Vide Tibull. lib. i. e. 7.

^p Orig. lib. xix. c. 29.

^q Hist. Eccles. lib. ii. c. 23.

^r Vide Bottari, tom. iii. pl. 76.

^s Metam. lib. ii.

noose, through which a few rods were passed, and when it was shaken in the hand three times it gave a shrill sound. This description will be found to answer to the instrument sculptured in this room. The rods are three or four in number. We must remember however a remark made by Winkelmann[†], that the Sistrum is not found in the hand of any ancient Egyptian statue in Rome. It is in each case a modern addition: and the same author observes, that he knows of no representation of it on any ancient monument, except it be on the Isiac Table, at Turin. There is also a coin of Trajan which represents it[‡].

Of the animals represented in this room there are Sphinxes both male and female.

In the next apartment, which is called Stanza Lapidaria, the exact measure of a Roman foot may be observed on three of the tombs. It is more than eleven inches English, but not equal to twelve.

On the walls of the staircase leading to the upper rooms, some very curious fragments of the plan of ancient Rome may be seen. They are in twenty-six compartments, and have been edited with engravings, and a Commentary, by Bellori[§], who supposes them to have been made in the reign of Septimius Severus, and to have

[†] Lib. ii. c. 1. §. 22.

[‡] A treatise has been written upon the Sistrum, by Bacchini.

[§] Twenty of them were illustrated by Bellori, the other six by Amaduzzi. This Commentary is also published in the Collection of Grævius.

served as a floor to some temple. They were found in the Church of SS. Cosmo, and Damiano, anciently a Temple of Romulus and Remus, and were first placed in the Farnese Palace. Unfortunately they have been so broken, and the fragments are so small, that little or no information has been gained from them. Many places had the names written over them, but these have likewise been much defaced, and do not help us. Part of the Theatre of Marcellus and of the Portico of Octavia may be identified, and will be mentioned hereafter.

Up stairs the Stanza del Vaso contains many curiosities, particularly a brazen vase, given by Mithridates, King of Pontus, to the College of Gymnasiarchs. There is an inscription on it to that effect. A figure of Diana Triformis deserves attention. She appears under the three characters of Luna, Diana, and Hecate. This was not an uncommon way of representing her; and she is generally made to carry a torch, some sort of weapon, and a key. The torch represents her in heaven, as Luna; the weapon alludes to her character on earth, as Diana; and the key denotes her power in hell, as Hecate. She is also attended by a serpent, and at her feet are ropes to denote the punishments of the infernal regions.

The Ephesian Diana Multimammia will also be found here. She was worshipped in this form, because she was considered the Nurse of all living things. There was however consider-

able mystery in the adoration paid to her, and the different attributes of Ceres, Isis, and Cybele, were in some way united in her. Hence she has on her head the turreted Crown of Cybele; and Macrobius seems to identify her with Isis, when he says¹, "Isis is worshipped in every religion, being either the earth, or universal nature, under the influence of the sun. For this reason the whole body of the goddess is covered with breasts, because the universe is nourished by the earth or nature." Such also is the interpretation given by S. Jerom². This figure is not uncommon, but occasional varieties may be seen. Besides the Crown of Cybele, she generally wears the veil of Isis: a Crab represents the Moon, (which is one of Diana's characters): the Victories and Breasts denote the Ephesian Diana; Stags and Bees, the Sicilian Diana: the Lions of Magna Mater also accompany her, the Oxen and Dragons of Eleusinian Ceres, the Sphinx of Minerva, and the Acorns and Fruits of the Earth.

A Bas-relief in white plaister representing scenes out of the Iliad, with explanations in Greek, may be considered curious. Fabretti has published an engraving of it, with a Dissertation at the end of his work upon Trajan's column. He thinks, that it was made subsequent to the time of Virgil, and probably in the reign of Nero.

¹ Saturn, lib. i. c. 20.

² Comm. in Epist. ad Eph. Præfat.

There is here an ancient Mosaic in the greatest preservation, representing four doves drinking, with a beautiful border round it. This Mosaic has excited considerable controversy. Pliny, in lib. xxxv. c. 25., where he is mentioning the perfection to which the art of Mosaic had been carried, describes a specimen of it, as being peculiarly excellent, which bears some resemblance to this. Many however do not allow it to be the same; and certainly the resemblance is not sufficient to convince. His words are these, "*Mirabilis ibi (Pergamis) columba bibens, et aquam umbra capitis infuscans. Aprican- tur aliæ scabentes sese in canthari labro.*" If this were really the one mentioned by Pliny, we might at least learn one fact, that the moderns excel the ancients in the art of Mosaic. I shall have occasion to recur to this subject, when treating of the Mosaic pictures in St. Peter's. This was found in 1737, in the ruins of Adrian's Villa at Tivoli, and is known by the name of *Le Colombe di Furietti*, from the first possessor, who published upon the subject. It was purchased for the Capitol by Clement XIII.

Some ancient stone weights are preserved here, which from their appearance cannot have lost much of their original weight.

At the end of the long gallery is the *Stanza degli Imperadori*, so called from a collection of busts of the Roman Emperors and their families, to the number of seventy-six, from J. Cæsar to Julian. In the middle of the room is Agrippina,

Nero's mother, seated; a most excellent piece of sculpture; but the head does not belong to the statue.

Outside of the window is an ancient sun-dial, placed in its proper position. The surface, on which the lines are drawn to mark the hours, is concave. Previous to the year of Rome 460, or thereabouts, there was no such thing as a sun-dial in Rome, or any definite manner of marking the hours. Pliny himself tells us^a, that no farther observation of time was noticed in the twelve tables, than the rising and setting of the sun. A contrivance was subsequently adopted for one of the consul's officers to make proclamation when the middle of the day was arrived, which he ascertained by watching, when he could see the sun from the senate-house between the *Rostra* and the *Græcostasis*^b. By a similar observation he proclaimed the end of the day. L. Papirius Cursor erected the first dial in Rome, U. C. 460, on the Temple of Quirinus. Pliny relates this on the authority of Fabius Vestalis; but he tells us at the same time, that, according to Varro, M. Valerius Messala was the first introducer of sun-dials; he having brought one to Rome from Catania, and placed it on a column in the Forum near the *Rostra*, U. C. 491. The Romans were not sufficient astronomers at that day to be aware, that a dial set for the meridian

^a Lib. vii. c. 60.

^b This was a building near the *Curia*, where foreign ambassadors were lodged.

of Catania would not mark the hours accurately at Rome^c. For ninety-nine years no correction or alteration was made; but in 590, Q. Marcius Philippus, who was then censor, had a proper one constructed, and placed near the other. The ancient sun-dial may be seen very perfectly on the tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens, and in the engravings of it by Stewart. Water-clocks were not introduced till 595, by Scipio Nasica.

Of the Stanza de' Filosofi, where there are seventy-nine busts of ancient philosophers, besides a great many which are unknown, there is nothing particular to remark.

In the next room is a collection of statues, many of which have great merit. Amongst them will be observed a figure of Harpocrates, the god of silence, with his finger on his mouth. It was found in Adrian's Villa in 1744. These statues were very common in the ancient temples, as we learn from Augustin^d, where he says, "Since in almost every temple where Isis and "Serapis were worshipped, there was also an "image which seemed to command silence by "the finger being pressed upon the lips, Varro "conceived this to signify, that the fact of their "having been men should be kept silent." We

^c We cannot accuse Lord Elgin of similar ignorance in moving the sun-dial from Athens, which is now to be seen in the British Museum. But surely great part of the interest and all the value of this piece of antiquity is lost, by its being taken from its proper situation.

^d De Civ. Dei, lib. xviii. c. 5.

learn from other writers the connection between Harpocrates and the Egyptian rites. Plutarch, in his treatise *de Iside et Osiride*, expressly says, that he was son of Isis and Osiris. Ovid alludes to the attitude in which Harpocrates is drawn,

Quique premit vocem digitoque silentia suadet.

MET. ix. 691.

Sometimes he was represented with a pear on his head, which was considered a type of silence and truth, from the resemblance which the core of it bears to a heart, and the leaf to the tongue.

In the next room is the statue of a Faun in Rosso Antico. This is among the marbles, which are only known from the ancient specimens, and of which there is no quarry now worked. It seems to be the same with what Pliny calls *Porphyrites**; for he is here treating of marbles, and as he mentions a variety of it, which from containing a few white spots was called *Leptopsephos*, he cannot mean Porphry, which is invariably spotted, and not always red, as Pliny says of this. He tells us, that the quarries of it were in Egypt, and afforded blocks of almost any size. Statues were made of it and brought to Rome in the time of Claudius, but not much approved of, nor was the example followed. So that we probably learn from this passage the date of the Faun now mentioned.

In the last room is the celebrated statue of

* Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

the Dying Gladiator, as it is generally called, but probably incorrectly. The person, whoever he is, seems on the very point of death. He is naked, with a cord clasped round his neck: he lies on a shield, upon which there is also something like a horn, with a string to suspend it: the horn is represented as broken: his sword is on the ground, and the sheath and belt by it. The whole appearance of the statue is contrary to the appearance of its being a gladiator: nor were the Greeks sufficiently addicted to spectacles of that kind, to suggest a dying gladiator as a subject for a sculptor. There is a passage in Pliny^f where some such statue as this is described. He tells us, that Ctesilas (who was contemporary with Phidias) made the statue of a person who was wounded and is just sinking, in which you could see exactly how much life was remaining in him. Some persons have been caught by these words, and concluded that we have in the Capitol a work of Ctesilas. But Pliny is speaking of a bronze statue, so that this cannot be the work described by him, or at least it could be only a copy. The question then remains, what did the sculptor intend to represent? The cord and the horn are the only peculiarities to guide us in our conjectures. Winkelmann^g thinks that it was intended for a herald: and he certainly brings a remarkable testimony in favour of his opinion, in the inscription over the statue

^f Lib. xxxiv. c. 19.

^g Lib. vi. c. 2. §. 24, &c.

of a man who had been victorious at the Olympic games, and was himself a herald. The words are,

οὐθ' ὑπὸ σαλπύγγων, οὐτ' ἀναδείγματ' ἔχων^h.

The meaning of which is, that he fulfilled his office without either horn or cord. Hesychius gives this explanation of ἀναδείγματα, by calling it ἡνίας περὶ τραχήλους, a *bridle or cord about the neck*: and it appears that heralds were accustomed to fasten a cord round their throats, that they might not injure themselves in speaking or blowing the hornⁱ. This inscription therefore would imply, that the herald in question had made himself audible at the games by his voice alone, without either cord or horn. The conjecture is ingenious, and perhaps it would be impossible to prove that it is not the true one. No other hypothesis accounts for the horn and cord being added: but still, if it was not for the Greek inscription, no one would have thought of guessing it to be an herald. I once conceived that it might be intended for a person who had killed himself: and in seeking for a name, I should recommend an investigation of those characters of antiquity who distinguished themselves by suicide. The statue was found at Antium, by Cardinal Albani, about 1770, and belonged for some time to the Ludovisi family. The right hand is

^h Vid. Poll. Onom. lib. iv. §. 92.

ⁱ Vid. Martial. lib. iv. ep. 41.

modern, and so is part of the base. Some say that they were added by Michel Angelo.

The Venus of the Capitol, as it is generally styled, is also in this room. She is supposed to be coming out of the bath, and bears some resemblance to the Venus de' Medici. The attitude of this latter statue was a favourite one with the sculptors. Several like it are to be seen in the gallery at Florence, and Ovid mentions it in the following verse :

Ipsa Venus puberem, quoties velamina ponit,
Protegitur læva semireducta manu.

ART. AM. lib. ii. 613.

Much controversy has arisen, whether the Venus de' Medici is the famous Venus of Cnidos, the chef-d'œuvre of Praxiteles. This was at Cnidos in the time of Arcadius and Honorius, and was exhibited in a small temple, open on all sides. Pliny says^k, that Cnidos owed to this statue its celebrity and concourse of strangers. From thence it was removed to Constantinople; and Cedronus tells us, that it stood in the Palace of the Lausi. The same author describes the attitude of the statue, *Κνιδία Ἀφροδίτη ἐκ λίθου λευκῆς, γυμνή, μόνην τὴν αἰδῶ τῇ χειρὶ περιστέλλουσα, ἔργον τοῦ Κνιδίου Πραξιτέλους*. From these words the Venus de' Medici might be the same with that at Cnidos: but we have no history of its removal from Constantinople to Rome, and there seem

^k Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

good reasons for thinking that the posture of the right arm is different in the statue at Florence from that of Praxiteles. For we may reasonably suppose, that the coin struck at Cnidos represents the real statue which made the city so famous; and this agrees with the Medicean, except that one arm is extended, and holds some drapery over a vase. It must be remembered, however, that the two arms of the Venus de' Medici are modern. From Lucian¹ it might be argued, that the Venus of Praxiteles was quite naked, without any drapery. If Cedrenus be correct in saying that the statue stood in the Palace of the Lausi, it was probably destroyed in the great fire, which consumed three quarters of Constantinople, in 462, and amongst other buildings, the Palace of the Lausi^m. If the identity of the Venus de' Medici with that of Cnidos be given up, this statue in the Capitol may perhaps claim it, as it nearly agrees with the representation on the coin. It was found on the Pincian hill.

On the base of one of the statues in this room is the following inscription, which may be thought worth copying, from the beauty of some of the sentiments. On one side we read,

Si pensare animas sinerent crudelia fata,
Et posset redimi morte aliena salus,

¹ Amor. xiii.

^m Vid. Cedrenus Hist. Comp. 348. Zonar. Ann. xiv. p. 50. Evagr. Hist. Eccles. lib. ii.

Quantulacunque meæ debentur tempora vitæ,
 Pensassem pro te, cara Homonæa, libens.
 At nunc, quod possum, fugiam lucemque Deosque,
 Ut te matura per Styga morte sequar.
 Parce tuam, conjux, fletu quassare juventam,
 Fataque mœrendo sollicitare mea.
 Nil prosunt lacrymæ, nec possunt fata moveri:
 Viximus—hic omnes exitus unus habet.
 Parce ita—non unquam similem experiare dolorem,
 Et faveant votis numina cuncta tuis.
 Quodque mihi eripuit mors immatura juventæ,
 Id tibi victuro proroget ulterius.

On the other side is,

Tu, qui secura procedis mente, parumper
 Siste gradum, quæso, verbaque pauca lege.
 Illa ego, quæ claris fueram prælata puellis,
 Hoc Homonæa brevi condita sum tumulo,
 Cui formam Paphiæ Charites tribuere decoram,
 Quam Pallas cunctis artibus erudiit.
 Nondum bis denos ætas mea viderat annos,
 Injecere manus invida fata mihi.
 Nec pro me queror hoc, morte est mihi tristior ipsa
 Mœror Atimeti conjugis ille mei.
 Sit tibi terra levis, mulier dignissima vita,
 Quæque tuis olim perfruerere^a bonis.

The continuation of the Museum is in the building opposite, called Palazzo de' Conservatori. In the court are several fragments of colossal statues; among them a head of Commodus, in bronze, which is said to be the same which that emperor placed upon a colossal sta-

^a This word is written thus upon the stone.

tue of Nero in the Temple of Peace*. Winkelmann, however, seems to doubt it being the head of Commodus^p. There is also a head of Domitian in marble. A colossal foot belonged to a statue in the Temple of Peace.

The Duilian Column is here, at least that which is called so, though there is little probability that it is the same with that which was erected by C. Duilius after his first naval victory over the Carthaginians, U. C. 493. It is a plain column of marble in bas-relief, with three prows of ships on each side, and part of an inscription. It was dug up several years ago in the Forum, not far from the Arch of S. Severus, and has been illustrated with a commentary by P. Ciacconius^q. Pliny mentions such a column^r; “a
“ more ancient memorial is by erecting pillars,
“ as that to C. Mænius, who conquered the old
“ Latins; also to C. Duilius, [some MSS. read
“ Vilius,] who was the first that celebrated a
“ naval triumph over the Carthaginians, which
“ still stands in the Forum.” Servius also, in his commentary upon Virgil, Georg. iii. 29, et navali surgentes ære columnæ, says, “Vilius
“ [some MSS. falsely read Julius Cæsar] erected
“ naval columns for his victory over the Cartha-
“ ginians by sea; one of which we see at the
“ *Rostra*, another in front of the Circus.” Quintilian also remarks^s, “that the early Latins added
“ the letter D to the ends of words, as we may

* Vid. Dio Cass. Lampridius.

^p Lib. iv. c. 7. §. 48.

^q Published in the collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1811.

^r Lib. xxxiv. c. 11.

^s Lib. i. c. 7.

“ observe in the naval column erected to Duilius “ in the Forum.” These passages certainly make the original pillar to have stood in the Forum; and as much of the inscription as remains agrees with Quintilian’s observation about the addition of the letter *d*. Ciacconius however, in his dissertation, thinks that it certainly is not that which was erected in the time of Duilius, as the carving of the letters is too good for those rude times, and the orthography of some of the words is too modern. He has supplied what is wanting in the inscription, which I shall copy, as a specimen of early Latin. That which is within the line is what remains; the rest is supplied by conjecture. [*See the Plate.*]

The inscription, in more modern orthography, would be this :

C. DVILIVS. M. F. COS. ADVERSVS. CARTHAGINIENSES. IN. SICILIA
REM. GERENS. EGESTANOS. COGNATOS. POPVLI. ROMANI. ARCTISSIMA
OBSIDIONE. EXEMIT. LEGIONES. CARTHAGINIENSES. OMNES
MAXIMOSQVE. MAGISTRATVS. ELEPHANTIS. RELICTIS
NOVEM. CASTRIS. EFFVGERVNT. MACELLAM. MVNITAM. VRBEM
PVGNANDO. CEPIT. INQVE. EODEM. MAGISTRATV. PROSPERE
REM. NAVIBVS. MARI. CONSVL. PRIMVS. CESSIT. REMIGESQVE
CLASSESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMVS. ORNAVIT. PARAVITQVE. DIEBVS. LX
CVMQVE. IIS. NAVIBVS. CLASSES. PVNICAS. OMNES. PARATASQVE
SVMMAS. COPIAS. CARTHAGINIENSES. PRAESENTE. MAXIMO
DICTATORE. ILLORVM. IN. ALTO. MARI. PVGNANDO. VICIT
XXXQVE. NAVES. CEPIT. CVM. SOCIIS. SEPTIREMEMQVE. DVCIS
QVINQVEREMEMQVE. TRIREMESQVE. NAVES. XX. DEPRESSIT
AVRV. CAPTV. NVMMI. III. M. DCC
ARGENTVM. CAPTV. PRAEDA. NVMMI. C.M. C
GRAVE. CAPTV. AES. XXI. C.M. PONDO
TRIVMPHOQVE. NAVALI. PRAEDA. POPVLVM. ROMANVM. DONAVIT
CAPTIVOS. CARTHAGINIENSES. INGENVOS. DVXIT. ANTE. CVRRVM
PRIMVSQVE. CONSVL. DE. SICVLIS. CLASSEQVE. CARTHAGINIENSIVM
TRIVMPHAVIT. EARVM. RERV. ERGO. S.P.Q.R. EI. HANCE. COLUMNAM. P

C. BILIOS. M. F. COS. ADVORSOM. CARTACINIENSEIS. EN. SICELIAD
REM. CERENS. ECESTANOS. COCNATOS. POPLI. ROMANI. ARTISVMAD
ORSEDEONED. FAXMET. LECIONEIS. CARTACINIENSEIS. OMNEIS
MAXIMOSQVE. MACISTRATOS. LYCAES. BOVEBOS. RELICTEIS
NOVEM. CASTREIS. EXFOCIONT. MACELAM. MOENITAM. VRBEM
PVGNANDOD. CEPET. ENQVE. EODEM. MACESTRATOD. PROSPERE
REM. NAVEBOS. MARID. CONSOL. PRIMOS. CESET. RESMECOSQVE
CLASESQVE. NAVALES. PRIMOS. ORNAVET. PARAVETQVE. DIEBOS. LX
CYMQVE. EIS. NAVEBVS. CLASEIS. POENICAS. OMNIS. PARATASQVE
SVMAS. COPIAS. CARTACINIENSIS. PRAESENTED. MAXVMOD
DICTATORED. OLOROM. IN. ALTOD. MARID. PVGNANDOD. VICET
XXXQVE. NAVEIS. CEPET. CVM. SOCIEIS. SEPTIMRESMOMQVE. DVCIS
QVINRESMOSQVE. TRIRESMOSQVE. NAVEIS. XX. DEPRESET
AVROM. CAPTOM. NVMEI. DDD DCC

ARCENTOM. CAPTOM. PRAEDA. NVMEI CCCXXX C

CRAVE, CAPTOM AES ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll
ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll
ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll ccc llll PONDOD
TRIOMPOVE. NAVALED. PRAEDAD. POPLOM. ROMANOM. DONAVET
CAPTIVOS. CARTACINSELS INCENS. INXIET. ANTE. CVROM
PRIMOSAVE. CONSOL. DE. SICILENS. CLASEQVE. CARTACINSEOM
TRIOMPAVET. EAROM. REROM. ERCO. S. P. Q. R. EL HANCE. COLVMNAM. P



With respect to the numbers expressed in this description, it may be observed, that Θ stood for one thousand: which explains why D, which is half of that figure, should stand for five hundred. And we may observe the repetition of this figure three times to express three thousand. Perhaps some more figures are lost in this line; but the numbers, as they stand at present, amount to 3700. In the next line also some figures are evidently lost at the end, as we may perceive from the c still remaining. $\overline{\text{ccc}\overline{\text{l}\overline{\text{ccc}}}}$ stood for an hundred thousand, as we learn from Priscian: and Fulvius Ursinus has engraved a Roman abacus, in which the numbers from one to a million are expressed thus: $\text{IxI. } \overline{\text{ccc}\overline{\text{l}\overline{\text{ccc}}}}. \overline{\text{cc}\overline{\text{l}\overline{\text{ccc}}}}. \infty. \text{c. x. i.}$ But when this pillar was erected, there was no notation for any number beyond an hundred thousand. Pliny himself tells us this¹: “Non erat antiquis numerus ultra centum millia; itaque et hodie multiplicantur hæc, ut decies centena millia, aut sæpius dicantur.” Consequently in this inscription we find $\overline{\text{ccc}\overline{\text{l}\overline{\text{ccc}}}}$ repeated twenty-one times, which was the only method then known of expressing 2100000.

With respect to the money mentioned in this inscription, we may observe, that at this time there was no gold coin at Rome. The computation was made by so many pounds weight of brass, which was called *Æs grave*. Pliny tells us², that brass money was first coined in the

¹ Lib xxxii. c. 47.

² Lib. xxxiii. c. 13.

reign of Servius Tullius; before which time the metal was used in its rude state. He tells us afterwards, that some writers made Numa to have coined money^v. The *As* at first weighed exactly a pound, and was divided into twelve ounces. The other coins were *Semissis*, or six ounces; *Triens*, four ounces; *Quadrans* or *Teruncius*, three ounces; and *Sextans*, two ounces, all in copper. As long as the value and weight continued the same, all sums were reckoned in pounds, or fractions of pounds, of *Æs grave*. The terms *Expensum*, *Impendia*, &c. prove the original custom of calculating by weight. So also the expressions *Ærarium*, *Tribuni Ærarii*, *Obærat*, and *Æra Militum*, shew, that at first no money was used but brass^w. In the year of Rome 485, five years before the first Punic war, silver was coined. The largest piece was the *Denarius*, equal to ten *asses*, or ten lbs. of brass; *Quinarius*, five lbs.; *Sestertium*, i. e. *semis tertium*, two lbs. and a half. Still the computation by *Æs grave* continued, because the pound weight of brass was the common standard. But in the course of the first Punic war a great alteration was made: the *As* was diminished five-sixths, the pound being divided into six *Asses*, each of which only equalled two ounces. In the second Punic war the *As* was farther reduced to one ounce; and afterwards by the *Lex Papiria* to only half an ounce. Gold coin was not struck

^v Lib. xxxiv. c. 1.

^w Vid. Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 1.

till the year 547, which was the thirteenth of the second Punic war.

On the walls of the staircase is an old bas-relief of Curtius leaping into the gulf. An inscription in verse also states, that the *Caroccio* taken by Frederic II. from the Milanese is preserved here; but I could not hear any thing of it. The *Caroccio* was a kind of waggon, painted red, and carried along with the armies in those times, the national standard being displayed upon it. That of Milan required four pairs of oxen to draw it*.

The Picture Gallery is in this collection, and almost equals that of the Vatican in excellence. In number it greatly exceeds it.

In an adjoining room is the celebrated bronze wolf, with two children sucking. The children are allowed to be modern, but great controversies have arisen as to the identity of the wolf with that which Cicero mentions to have been struck with lightning. He says†, “Romulus “the founder of this city was also struck, which “you recollect was a small figure in the Capitol, gilt, sucking the teats of a wolf.” Dio Cassius also mentions the circumstance‡, and makes it to have happened in the year of Rome 689. The fractures in the hind legs of this have been brought to prove the identity: and Venuti asserts, that it was preserved in the Church of

* Vid. Muratori Antiq. Ital. Diss. xxvi.

† 3 in Cat. c. 8. He mentions it also de Divin. lib. i. c. 12. and lib. ii. c. 20.

‡ Lib. xxxvii.

the most authentic documents: and it is not improbable, that these fragments are of this date.

ESQUILINE AND VIMINAL HILLS.

The Esquiline and Viminal hills contain scarcely any ruins, except the Baths of Titus on the former, and the Baths of Diocletian on the latter. They will both be mentioned, when we come to the subject of the Baths. The Viminal hill is small, and mostly occupied by gardens: it is indeed rather difficult to ascertain its limits; the Baths of Diocletian stand partly upon the Quirinal hill, as the two eminences come to a junction in this place. In walking from the Trinità de' Monte to S. Maria Maggiore, and thence to S. John Lateran, the ascent of all the four hills, the Quirinal, the Viminal, the Esquiline, and the Cælian, is evident.

QUIRINAL HILL.

The Quirinal Hill is now known by the name of Monte Cavallo, from the two horses on the top of it. These were found in the Baths of Constantine, and stand in the middle of a large open space, on either side of an Egyptian obelisk. They were placed here by Sextus V., who also began the Palace on this hill. With each horse is the colossal figure of a man in marble, and one groupe is said to be the work of Phidias, the

other of Praxiteles. But this is very uncertain, as is the subject which they were intended to represent. Some call them Castor and Pollux; others, Alexander taming Bucephalus. This latter conjecture cannot be true: at least, if it is so, we must give up the idea of their being the work of Phidias and Praxiteles: for Phidias, according to Pliny², flourished in the eighty-third Olympiad: but Alexander was born in the one hundred and sixth, ninety-two years after. According to the same author, Praxiteles flourished in the one hundred and fourth Olympiad, eight years before the birth of Alexander: so that we can scarcely suppose that he lived to execute a statue of Alexander. The former conjecture, that the two figures were intended for Castor and Pollux, seems more probable, from a coin of Maxentius, on the reverse of which are two figures with horses, exactly in this attitude, with the legend AETERNITAS. But it is not at all likely, that they are really the works of those great artists: for they lived at the distance of about one hundred years from each other, whereas the two figures seem evidently to have been executed together. Besides which the words OPVS PHIDIAE and OPVS PRAXITELIS shew them to be of later date; for though Greek artists frequently wrote their names upon their works in Latin, yet it was not till about the time of Augustus. Some antiquaries say, that these names

² Lib. xxxiv. c. 8.

were affixed by the people of Alexandria, from whence the horses were brought to Rome^b. There are two statues on the Capitol very like them.

The Abbè Dubos found fault with the horses on the Quirinal hill, as being defective in execution. But Winkelmann defends themⁱ, and contends, that whatever is ancient in them is good. The four horses lately mentioned, and two at Naples, with figures of Nonius Balbus and his son upon them, which were found at Herculaneum, are nearly the only ancient specimens that we have of this kind in stone. In metal there is the statue of M. Aurelius on the Capitol, and the four horses at Venice. The Abbè Dubos and other writers have ventured to accuse the Greeks of not being successful in their representation of the horse. Winkelmann on the other hand thinks, that they have shewn themselves perfectly masters of their subject, and that the specimens, which remain to us, are the finest that could be desired. As far as the execution is concerned, I should not presume to question such an authority as Winkelmann: but if the Venetian horses are to be the test, he must at least allow me to conclude, that the breed of horses in Greece was far inferior to what the moderns admire; and that the *beau-ideal* of the Greeks with respect to that animal was any thing but elegant.

^b Vide Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

ⁱ Lib. iv. c. 4. §. 56.

Another difference of opinion has existed, as to whether the ancients understood the manner in which a horse lifts his feet in walking. It is generally said, that they were ignorant of the true gait, and always made the two legs of the same side quit the ground at once. This is not a true statement. The four horses at Venice, those of Castor and Pollux on the Capitol, and of Nonius Balbus at Naples, certainly have their legs raised in that way. But the horse of M. Aurelius lifts them diagonally, and so do four horses represented in a bas-relief, as attached to a chariot of the same Emperor, also in the Capitol. This seems to be the natural and real motion. But if the ancients were divided upon this point, the moderns are so likewise: at least we have a treatise by Boul^k, where he asserts, that horses lift up the two feet of the same side at once, and Baldinucci in his *Lives of the Painters*^l says the same thing. The other side of the question is maintained by Magalotti^m.

The men attached to these horses are 18½ feet high, and considered fine specimens of sculpture.

The pope now always resides in the Palace on the Monte Cavallo, and the Vatican has for some years been deserted. Upon descending the hill towards Trajan's Forum, we see a lofty square tower of brick, very perfect, which is sometimes

^k De Motu Animal. p. i. c. 20.

^l Tom. ii. p. 59.

^m Lettere Famil. p. 666.

said to have been built by Augustus or Trajan for the soldiers, and therefore called *Torre delle Milizie*. But it is supposed not to be older than the time of Innocent III. When Trajan's Column was erected, a great change was made in the appearance of the Quirinal hill. The inscription on the pillar is mutilated at the bottom, and it is difficult to make out exactly what is meant to be expressed: but we must certainly understand from it, that the height of the Column equals the height of the ground, which was cut away to make the Forum level. This seems almost incredible, if we suppose it to mean, that the Quirinal hill extended thus far, and that the whole side of it was cut away: nor can we well suppose a separate hill to have existed here, which was removed to make room for the Column.

CÆLIAN HILL.

The Cælian hill contains little, except some fragments of Aquaducts, and vestiges of ancient building near the Church of St. John and St. Paul. These two saints were brothers, and eunuchs in the Court of Constantia, daughter of Constantine. They were put to death by order of Julian the apostate, and a Church was built upon the spot by Pammachus, a friend of St. Jerom, who died A. D. 410. Venuti considers the ruins, which join on to this church, to have been *Vivaria*, or places for the wild beasts in-

tended for the amphitheatres. But by many they are supposed to be remains of the *Curia Hostilia*, which Livy places upon this hill^o. It may be remarked, that there is a very fine palm-tree in the garden of this Convent, the only one, I believe, certainly the largest, in Rome.

The Church of St. Stephen is also on this hill, which is curious for its round form, and for having been built A. D. 483, or thereabouts, by Pope Simplicius, if it is not much older. Some antiquaries say, that it was anciently a Temple of Bacchus. It was repaired and considerably altered by Nicholas V. It is round, with two concentric rows of Ionic pillars. In the inner row there are twenty, besides two Corinthian pilasters, and in the area, which they inclose, are two other Corinthian pillars, higher than the rest, and supporting arches. The exterior row consists of thirty-four pillars, besides eight square piles, disposed at regular intervals, apparently for greater strength; eight of these pillars are Corinthian, and higher than the rest. Most of the pillars are of granite: some are of marble, as are the bases and capitals of all. The walls are of brick. L. Fauno is inclined to consider it the Temple of Vesta, which was built by Numa, or to stand upon the same site. It is engraved by Desgodetz, who calls it a Temple of Faunus, and adds, without expressing any doubt, that it was built by the Emperor Claudius. According

to him, Pope Simplicius only consecrated it to Christian purposes, and Nicholas V. repaired it. What is his evidence for making Claudius the builder of it, does not appear. There is more reason on the side of those persons, who say, that Claudius was the deity, to whom it was dedicated : for Suetonius tells us^o, that a temple was erected to Claudius in the reign of Vespasian on the Cælian hill. I shall have occasion to allude to this temple again ; and if we could be certain that it was built in the reign of Claudius, it might afford some important evidence in the history of architecture. It is now difficult to get access to this church, as service is never performed here, except on the festival of the saint. The whole hill is indeed almost deserted, and, excepting near the Church of St. John Lateran, there are very few houses upon it. The Cæliolus is probably the level ground between the Colosseum, the church of St. Clement, and the Esquiline hill.

AVENTINE HILL.

The Cælian and Aventine hills seem more to belong to a country, which has been deserted by its inhabitants, than to be inclosed within the walls of a populous city. There is reason to believe, that Mount Aventine was never much built upon : it was given to the Latins U. C. 119, and

^o In Vespas. c. 9.

probably was always turned to use by cultivation. Pliny speaks of it in the plural^p, *Nemo sacros Aventinosque montes et irata plebis secessus circumspexerit, &c.* but this is probably owing to its being intersected by a road, which may be called a valley dividing it into two hills. It is now occupied by gardens, with here and there a solitary church built out of the fragments of ancient edifices. Of these S. Sabina and S. Maria are worthy of observation. The principal ruins upon it are the baths of Caracalla, which will be described hereafter. The tomb of the Scipios is also interesting; of which some notice will be given, when we have occasion to mention the tombs.

From this hasty sketch of the seven hills, it may be seen, that modern Rome can scarcely be said to rest upon that base, which the poets of old were so fond of celebrating. By far the greater part of it is in the Campus Martius; and it perhaps would not be a rash assertion to say, that two thirds of the space within the walls are not built upon. Besides this difference of position between the habitable part of ancient and modern Rome, another remarkable change has taken place in the level of the ground. From the frequent demolitions of buildings, either by violence or in the natural progress of time, the soil has accumulated in some places to an incredible height. This, as might be expected, is

^p Lib. xix. c. 4.

most apparent in the valleys between the hills. The pillar of Trajan was buried even above the pedestal, and this measures fifteen feet. The arches of S. Severus and of Constantine had suffered in the same way; and in some parts of the Forum the fact is still more remarkable. There is reason to believe, that if a town were to be overthrown and entirely deserted, the natural process of vegetation and decay would in the course of ages cover up many of the fragments. In the Campagna of Rome, which is so thickly covered with ruins, this has undoubtedly been the case; as by excavating, we arrive at the foundation of buildings, over which no later edifice has been raised, but which are merely covered with a vegetable mould. In the remains of Roman settlements and villas in our own country, the process has been the same. But Rome, though frequently overthrown, has never been deserted. It stands as a link in the chain, which connects ancient and modern history; and in this part the continuity has never been broken. Even if contemporary accounts were silent, we might learn from recent excavations how overwhelming were the calamities which befel this unhappy city. Near the pillar of Trajan, we find whole rows of columns still standing on their bases, but broken off some feet from the bottom. If the research were to be continued, it would probably be found, that all this part of modern Rome is raised a great height above the ancient level; and that the buildings which were thrown

down, instead of being restored, or employed in the works which succeeded them, were permitted to lie prostrate, and formed into one mass to receive the new structures. As the city suffered so frequently from invaders, we need not be surprised at the greatness of this accumulation. I do not mean to deny, that in some parts, particularly in the Forum, much has been done by the mere progress of time; but that the raising of the level has mostly been caused by the demolition of buildings, seems evident from a comparison of the pillar of Trajan with that of Antonine. Venuti remarks the singular fact of so much of the former being buried, while the latter is uncovered to the very bottom of the pedestal. He does not however give a reason for this difference, which seems very obvious. The pillar of Antonine stood in the Campus Martius, where there were scarcely any houses; whereas that of Trajan was erected in a part which had always been built upon. Consequently when the work of pillage was completed, the whole area round the pillar of Trajan was a mass of ruins, while that of Antonine still stood in the open plain, and having itself escaped the destroyers, was not buried in any succeeding buildings. It is easy to understand, why, after the universal destruction of a city, the inhabitants should rather build upon the ruins as they lay, than commence the laborious process of clearing them away. But in the Campus Martius there were few houses to throw down; and the public buildings which

remain are not nearly so much buried, as those in the neighbourhood of the Forum. The Portico of the Pantheon was formerly ascended by seven steps; two only now remain above the surface: but the difference of five steps is nothing, when compared with the accumulation of soil at the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, in the Forum. At the Temple of Antoninus Pius, (the modern custom-house,) we have the bases of the pillars still above the ground: and though in the Mausoleum of Augustus the area is considerably raised, this is evidently effected by the upper part of the building having fallen in.

PANTHEON.

We are now led naturally to consider the buildings in the Campus Martius^a, and we cannot do better, than begin with that, which is the most perfect of all the remains of ancient Rome, the Pantheon of Agrippa. It is indeed the only one of the Pagan temples, which preserves any thing of its original appearance; and we may rather be surprised that this has escaped so well, than that more have not come down to us; for after Christianity was established in the Roman empire by Constantine, the zeal of the Christians was so excessive, that they com-

^a This name is still preserved in the Piazza di Campo Marzo, and in one of the fourteen *Rioni*, into which modern Rome is divided.

menced a general destruction of all buildings which had been consecrated to heathen rites. According to S. Jerom, there were in his time two hundred and eight temples in Rome, all of which seem to have suffered spoliation; and in 399, Honorius issued a special decree to protect the ancient edifices from the furious zeal of the new religion.

The Pantheon is now known by the name of S. Maria ad Martyres, and more commonly La Rotonda, having been dedicated to the Virgin by Pope Boniface IV., who received it from the Emperor Phocas, A. D. 607: and as he removed to this place the remains of saints and martyrs from the different cemeteries, enough to fill twenty-eight waggons, it received the additional title of *ad Martyres*. It was erected by Agrippa, twenty-six years before Christ, in memory of Augustus' victory over Antony, and dedicated to Jupiter Ultor, and all the gods. It would seem however from Dio^r, that the origin of the term Pantheon was not quite ascertained. He says, "It is perhaps called so, because in the statues of Mars and Venus, it received the images of several deities. But as it appears to me, it has its name from the convex form of its roof, giving a representation of the heavens." It suffered from fire in the time of Titus, and was repaired by Domitian. It was also injured by lightning in the twelfth year of Trajan, when it

^r Lib. liii.

was repaired by Adrian ; and again by S. Severus and M. Aur. Antonius, as the inscription on the architrave informs us.

The first view of this building will disappoint most persons. The round part may be pronounced decidedly ugly ; and a Corinthian portico is certainly not so striking, when centuries have passed over it and disfigured it, as one of the Doric order. The situation of the building is also very bad, it being in a dirty part of the city, and closely surrounded with houses. The body of the church, or round part, is of brick : but this was not its original appearance, as it was at first covered entirely with marble. All this has been carried away, and the exterior surface, as it now stands, is, as was observed, extremely ugly. The arches which appear in the second and third stories, are the continuation of the vaulting of the roofs, which cover the chapels and the cavities, which will be mentioned shortly, as cut out of the thickness of the wall.

The Portico however is a most majestic structure. The most inexperienced eye would observe a want of agreement between this and the body of the building. The cornice of the one does not accord with that of the other : and a singular effect is produced by there being a pediment on the temple, which rises above that of the portico ; so that in fact there are two pediments. This has caused some controversy among the antiquaries. But it is now generally supposed that Agrippa built the whole, though

perhaps at different times, and the portico may have been an afterthought. The inscription, which ascribes the building to Agrippa, stands over the portico.

M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. TERTIVM.³ FECIT

And as we can neither suppose that the portico was built first, or that this inscription was placed before the dedication, or that any other person who added such an ornament would have suffered Agrippa's name to supplant his own, we must conclude, that the whole was the work of Agrippa. Julius Capitolinus says expressly, that Agrippa built the portico also: and it might be argued, that Dio implies the same thing¹, when he tells us, that Agrippa placed statues of Au-

* Between the third consulship of Pompey, and the third of Agrippa, the grammarians of Rome, had probably made up their minds as to the propriety of writing *tertium* and not *tertio*. For when Pompey was going to dedicate his theatre, and a temple to Venus Victrix, he asked the learned of Rome, whether he should express his third Consulship by COS. TERTIVM or TERTIO: they were much divided in their answers, and Cicero was applied to: with that caution peculiar to his character, he would not commit himself by opposing any other opinion, and advised the first part TERT being only written, which was done. When the building was repaired some time after, the difficulty was avoided by writing COS. III. Aulus Gellius, who gives us this anecdote, (x. 1.) adds, that Varro made this distinction between the two forms. "Aliud est *quarto* prætorem fieri et *quartum*: quod *quarto* locum adsignificat ac tres ante factos: *quartum* tempus adsignificat et ter ante factum." Varro would have written *tertium*.

¹ Lib. liii.

gustus and himself in the *Pronaos*: for as the temple is circular, nothing can be intended by the term *Pronaos*, but the present or a preceding portico. The evidence of coins is sometimes of importance, when applied to Roman buildings: but in the present case little assistance is afforded, and that little is not free from suspicion. In a work published by Du Choul, "*Discours sur la Religion des anciens Romains*," an engraving is given, at p. 7, of a brass coin, having on one side the head of Agrippa, with M. AGRIPPA. L. F. COS. III. and on the reverse a round building resembling the Pantheon, with a portico of six columns. The number of columns certainly does not agree; but if the coin were genuine, we must attribute this to accident, because both the inscriptions agree as to the date, ascribing it to the third consulship of Agrippa. There are also some windows represented on the coin as over the portico, which do not exist at present. The evidence, imperfect as it is, is also suspicious, as the learned have decided that the coin is spurious. In another work, published by Oiselius, (*Thesaurus Numismatum*), there is an engraving, at p. 158, of a coin, which the editor considers as representing the Pantheon. He only gives one side of it, on which is IOVI. VLTORI. P. M. TR. III. and a portico of six columns, with a great space between the middle ones, in which is a figure of Jupiter. The whole is backed by a building, like a pyramid, with steps leading up to the portico. Scaliger certainly hints the

probability of there having been more than one building called *Pantheon*, but he does not bring any evidence to that effect^a.

The portico is 110 feet long by 44 deep, supported by sixteen columns of the Corinthian order, disposed in two rows of eight each. Each is of one piece of oriental granite, 42 feet high, without the bases and capitals, which are of white marble. The opening between the two middle pillars is larger than the openings between the others, which is the case also with those of the Temples of Concord, and of Antoninus and Faustina: but the difference is scarcely to be perceived without measuring them. Vitruvius leads us to expect this in the best built temples; for he tells us^x, that the intercolumniations in a portico should equal two diameters and one fourth; but that the middle intercolumniation should equal three diameters. A temple so constructed he calls *Eustylos*. He adds, that they had no example of that kind in Rome; which, as the Pantheon was built A. C. 26, and Vitruvius published his work late in the reign of Augustus, might be brought as a proof that the portico was a subsequent addition. I have not seen this passage adduced in argument, nor do I know whether there is much weight in it: for Vitruvius is speaking of temples surrounded on all sides by a colonnade; in both fronts of which this excess of the middle intercolumniation ought

^a In Euseb. Chron. an. 2126.

^x Lib. iii. c. 2.

to prevail. So that it may be said that he took no notice of the Pantheon, because there was only a single portico to it. According to the plan of Desgodetz, neither the diameters of the columns nor the intercolumniations are uniform. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, "the roof was formerly supported by sixteen immense pillars, but now by thirteen, for one is wanting, and two have been destroyed by fire. The same portico is supported by brazen beams gilt." I cannot exactly ascertain who restored the three pillars which were wanting, for they are now all complete. Desgodetz says, that Urban VIII. in 1627 had two of the pillars brought back, which had been removed to another place, and restored the capitals which were wanting. He remarks, that the two angular pillars were thicker than the rest, according to the rule given by Vitruvius: and the two which were removed were that at the right hand angle and the one immediately behind it. When they were replaced, the architect was not aware of this difference in their diameters, and has placed the thickest behind the other. Eugenius IV. contributed very much to the improvement of this portico, by clearing away some shops which were placed within it; and early in the sixteenth century the space in front was freed from many incumbrances and intrusions.

The roof of the portico and of the temple itself was formerly covered with plates of brass, which were taken away by Urban VIII. to form the

four pillars round the grand altar in St. Peter's. This story is so confidently related, and the detail is so minute, that there seems no reason to doubt it; yet Fea, in his description of the Vatican, denies it, and says, that the brass employed by Urban VIII. came from Venice, and was regularly paid for. I am afraid that he exculpates the papal theft at the expence of truth. Indeed if what Donatus says be true, it is impossible to deny it. He says, that several cannons and military engines were also made out of the metal, and carried to the Castle of S. Angelo. One of the latter, formed out of the nails which kept the plates together, bore, according to Donatus, this inscription: "Ex clavis trabalibus "Porticus Agrippæ." He says also, that the following inscription was placed over the door of the temple.

VRBANVS. VIII. PONT. MAX
 VETVSTAS. ATHENEI. LACVNARIS
 RELIQVIAS
 IN. VATICANAS. COLUMNAS. ET
 BELLICA. TORMENTA. CONFLAVIT
 VT. DECORA. INVTLIA
 ET. IPSI. PROPE. FAMAE. IGNOTA
 FIERENT
 IN. VATICANO. TEMPLO
 APOSTOLICI. SEPVCURI. ORNAMENTA
 IN. HADRIANA. ARCE
 INSTRVMENTA. PVBLICAE. SECVRITATIS
 ANNO. DOMINI. MDCXXXII. PONTIF. IX

I did not see this inscription; but it seems ridiculous to question the account of Donatus,

who dedicated his work to this very pope. The whole mass of metal weighed 450250 pounds: the nails alone weighed 9374 pounds. As it is stated by Anastasius^y, that Constantine took some brazen tiles from this roof and carried them into Sicily, and that Gregory III. covered the roof with plates of brass, the tiles carried away by Urban VIII. must have been those placed there by Gregory.

There is supposed to have been a bas-relief in the pediment, and, from the appearance of nails to fasten it, it was probably of bronze. The ascent to the portico was formerly by seven steps, but now only by two. These are of stone, but they are said formerly to have been of brass. L. Fauno, who wrote in 1548, says, that in his time the entrance was by a descent of many steps; which was owing to the accumulation of soil from the ruin of neighbouring buildings. It was Alexander VII. who cleared this away, and made the entrance as it is at present.

The bronze doors, which lead into the church, are of considerable antiquity. It is asserted by Ficoroni^z, that the original doors were amongst the spoil carried off by Genseric, and shipwrecked in the Mediterranean. He is followed in this story by other writers: but no authority has been produced, and Procopius, who mentions the pillage committed by Genseric, does not say a word about the doors of the Pantheon. At the upper part of the present doors we may ob-

^y Vita S. Vitaliani.

^z Lib. i. c. 20.

serve a kind of grating, which was probably intended to let in light. L. Fauno partly confirms the assertion of Ficoroni, by remarking, that the doors evidently did not belong originally to this temple, but came from some other building. He says, that they do not fit the aperture, and that in order to remedy this defect some other ancient ornaments have been annexed. The floor is so much raised, as to hide all the pedestals of the columns in the inside.

Of the original decorations of the interior, we learn something from Pliny. He tells us^a, “There are some Syracusan capitals of columns in the Pantheon, placed there by M. Agrippa.” And again^b, “Diogenes of Athens ornamented the Pantheon of Agrippa. The Caryatides pass for some of the finest works known, on account of the statues at the top; but these from their height are less celebrated.” When the building was repaired after the fire, great changes took place in the interior. The bronze capitals were perhaps destroyed. The Caryatides also seem to have been removed, which stood in the present attic. The cornice over the lower pillars is scarcely wide enough to have supported them, but this may have been another of the changes made, when the Caryatides were removed. Pilasters were then placed in the attic, and these have very strangely been taken away not many years ago. Ficoroni states, but I do not know

^a Lib. xxxiv. c. 3.

^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

upon what authority, that these Caryatides were figures emblematical of the provinces conquered by the Romans. Winkelmann thinks, that one of them may still be seen. It is at Naples, having been removed thither from the Farnese Palace at Rome. It is the upper half of the figure of a man, apparently a Persian, naked and without arms, upon whose head is a kind of basket, which seems to be surrounded with the leaves of the Acanthus. It was from accidentally seeing a basket encircled in this manner, that Callimachus first took his idea of the Corinthian capital^c. This mutilated figure with the basket is ten palms and a half high, and the height of the attic is nineteen; so that the proportions will agree very well. As the figure at Naples is that of a man, we should properly call it a *Telamo* or *Atlas*: for such, Vitruvius informs us^d, were the terms used to imply male figures placed as columns. Female figures of the same kind were called Caryatides: and the same writer gives us the following etymology of the term^e. At the time of the Persian invasion, Caryæ, a city of Peloponnesus, took the part of the enemy. When the Greeks were victorious, they turned their arms against the traitorous Caryæ, and levelled it with the ground, and put all the males to the sword. The women, though condemned to slavery, were forced to retain their robes and ornaments of matrons, as a perpetual memorial

^c Vitruv. lib. iv. c. 1.^d Lib. vi. c. 10.^e Lib. i. c. 1.

of their infamy. The architects from this cause took to represent female figures in the attitude of supporting a great burthen ; so that the name and the position might hand down the story of Carya to the latest posterity.

Atlas was the Greek term for the male figures, taken, as Vitruvius says, from the fable of Atlas supporting the world. He confesses himself ignorant of the etymology of the Latin term *Telamo*. But if Winkelmann is right in calling this a Persian figure, we have in it a confirmation of another remark of Vitruvius ; for he proceeds to tell us, that after the defeat of the Persians at Plataeæ, the Greeks began to support the roofs of their houses with figures of prisoners dressed in the Persian costume, and hence came the custom of making statues of Persians support the epistyles and their ornaments.

The height of the whole building is one hundred and forty-four feet, and the diameter the same. From the floor to the base of the attic is forty feet two inches (French). Desgodetz says, that the second story is not properly an attic. There are fourteen windows in it ; but they do not open to the outward air, and only give light from the interior of the building to the chapels below, over which they are placed. The projecting part is broad enough for a person to walk round the cupola, and an inscription may be seen in it, which seems to relate to that L. Albinus, who took the Vestal Virgins in his carriage, when the Gauls entered Rome, and conveyed

them to Cære. It is much mutilated, but if ancient is certainly curious.

ADERENT. CAPITOLIV
TALES. CAERE. DEDVXIT
QVAE. RITVS. SOLEMNES. NE
RENTVR. CVRAI. SIBI. HABVIT
ERATA. SACRA. ET. VIRGINES
XIT.

Pomponius Lætus says, that the roof was covered with plates of silver : which, he adds, were carried away by Constans, grandson of Heraclius, when he came to Rome in 663. Paulus Diaconus^f and Anastasius^g relate the same circumstance; but they make the tiles to have been of bronze, which seems more probable. They add, that he sent these and other treasures, which he had collected at Rome, to Syracuse, where he established his court, and that after his death they came into the hands of the Saracens. Winkelman thinks, that some of these works of art may still be seen in Sicily^h.

The church is lighted by a circular aperture in the roof, nor is there any other window. The rain of course comes into the interior ; and when Urban VIII. was making a large drain into the Tiber, a circular reservoir was found fifteen palms below the pavement of the church to carry off the water. This was necessary not only for the rain, but on account of the floods, which not un-

^f Hist. Long. lib. v. c. 11. ^g Vita S. Vitaliani. ^h Lib. vi. c. 8. §. 23.

frequently rise so high as to come into the church.

In the circuit of the wall there are seven chapels recessed back and cut out of the thickness of it. Six of them have two pillars in front of each, but the seventh, which is opposite to the entrance, is open. Some have thought, that this one is not so old as the rest, but has been formed since the building was consecrated to Christian worship. The ornaments however are equally well executed, and agree with the rest, except that there is a difference in the fluting of the lateral pillars, and in the entablature over them. But this may have been an intentional variety in the chapel, which faced the entrance. Between each of these chapels two pillars project from the wall, and behind them is a hollow space taken out of the thickness of it, to which there is no entrance but from without. There are three rows of these cavities, one above the other, eight in each row, and the only use of them seems to have been to lighten the building.

TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS PIUS.

Next to the Pantheon, the most considerable ruin we come to in the Campus Martius is the Temple of Antoninus Pius, now the Custom-house. The name of the place where this stands is the Piazza di Pietra, which seems to indicate, that numerous fragments of marble have been found here. The part which is now standing be-

longed to one of the sides of the portico which surrounded the temple, and consists of eleven columns. It would seem to have been more perfect in the time of L. Fauno, as he makes out that there were formerly forty-two pillars round the temple, and eighteen in the interior supporting the *cella*. Palladio also gives a plan of the whole, and conceives that there were originally fifteen pillars on the side: others say thirteen. They have suffered very much from time, and fire is said to have contributed to their defacement. The bases and capitals are almost entirely worn away. They are of Greek marble, thirty-nine feet high, and four in diameter. The spaces between them are filled up with brickwork, so that the whole presents a sad union of magnificence and decay. The brickwork is perhaps necessary to prop up the building. Part of the vast cornice, which they supported, is still tolerably perfect on the outside. When viewed from the court within, it looks more like part of a great stone-quarry, than a building, from the enormous masses of stone, which are now broken and uneven. A good deal of it was of brick. No part of the temple itself remains. Some call it a Temple of Mars, built by Antoninus Pius; while others think it a Basilica. P. Victor certainly places a Basilica of Antoninus near to his column.

PORTICO OF OCTAVIA.

Few remains of ancient Rome can be identified with more certainty than the fragments of the Portico of Octavia, near S. Angelo in Pescheria. Another church near it is called S. Maria in Porticu. Unfortunately it is a mere fragment, and that only of the portico, without any portion of the two temples, which it inclosed. We know, that Augustus, after he had erected the Theatre of Marcellus, inclosed the two temples of Jupiter and Juno, which were very near, with a covered portico or colonnade, dedicating it to his sister Octavia. This served at once as an ornament to the temples, and as a place for the people to walk under and find shelter in going to or returning from the Theatre. The porticos were also used for more serious purposes in Rome. A Library was attached to this of Octavia¹: and sometimes the senate was held in them, causes were tried, ambassadors received, marriage-contracts settled, &c. &c. Many articles also were exposed in them for sale. Accordingly we find notices of several porticos, such as that of Nasica, Pompey, Livius; the Portico of Concord, of Quirinus, of Hercules, &c. &c. There is a passage in Ovid, where allusion is made to this portico, and to that near the Theatre of Pompey.

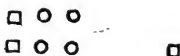
Tu modo Pompeia tectus spatiare sub umbra,
Cum Sol Herculei terga Leonis adit:

¹ Dio, lib. lxvi.

Aut ubi muneribus nati sua munera mater
Addidit, externo marmore dives opus.

Artis Amator. i. 67.

The row of pillars was double all the way round, and consisted of two hundred and seventy in all. Of these nothing remains but two pillars and two pilasters in one row supporting a pediment; and parallel to them two other pillars and one pilaster, of which the ground-plan would be this :



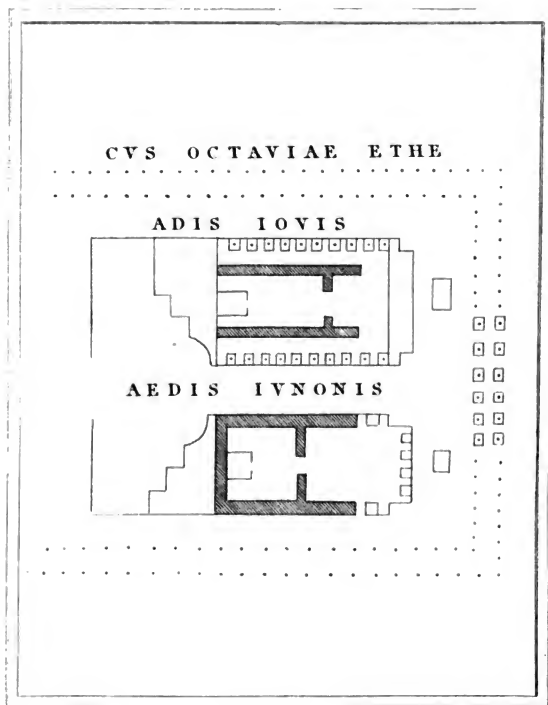
More of them probably exist, but blocked up with buildings, as is partly the case with these. They are Corinthian, of white marble, fluted, and seem to have formed the principal entrance to the temples. On the capital of the pilaster is an eagle with thunder. Vitruvius recommends, that a portico, such as this, with a double row of pillars, should have the outer ones Doric, and the inner Ionic or Corinthian. In the present case both are Corinthian.

From a passage in Velleius Paterculus^k it appears, that these temples were surrounded with a portico before the one which Augustus built. He is speaking of Metellus, and says, "This was Metellus Macedonicus, who erected the porticos which surrounded the two tem-

^k Lib. i.



To face page 105.



“ples” without inscriptions, which are now encompassed by the porticos of Octavia.” Arrian also tells us¹, that Metellus brought from the town of Dios the twenty-one equestrian statues, which Lysippus had cast in bronze to those guards of Alexander, who had fallen at the battle of the Granicus, and placed them in his portico. Harduin, in his notes upon Pliny^m, mentions a silver coin, on which this portico is represented with the inscription Q. METELLVS PIVS.

A curious illustration of this antiquity is found in those fragments of the ichnography of Rome, which are now in the Museum of the Capitol. The names are fortunately preserved, and the whole is sufficiently entire to give us the relative position of the temples with respect to the portico, and the construction of the temples themselves. I made a rough copy of this fragment myself, and have since found it engraved in the work published by Bellori. It is from his book that the adjoined plate is copied, but with a few trifling alterations, which certainly make it more like the original. The pillars, which still remain, are probably some of those twelve, which are made larger than the rest in the plan, and which formed the entrance to the temples.

Plinyⁿ alludes to the two temples within the portico. His words are these, “In the temple of Juno, within the Portico of Octavia, Polycles and Dionysius made the statue of the god-

¹ Lib. i. c. 17.

^m Lib. xxxiv. c. 14.

ⁿ Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

“dess: that of Jupiter, which is in the adjoining temple, was made by the sons of Timarchides.” He also tells us, that the two temples were built by Saurus and Batrachus, architects of Sparta, who not being allowed to inscribe their names upon the building, handed them down to posterity, by placing a lizard and a frog (the signification of their names) in the folds of the pillars, (*in columnarum spiris.*) Winkelmann interprets this to mean the volutes^o; and thinks, that he has discovered one of the actual pillars in the Basilica of S. Lorenzo, from which he infers, that these temples were of the Ionic order. Vitruvius does not agree with Pliny in making Saurus and Batrachus the builders of both temples; but makes that of Jupiter to have been built by Hermodorus, if his text is not corrupt. Perhaps the two Spartans mentioned by Pliny were employed upon the Temple of Juno. Vitruvius also tells us, that the Temple of Jupiter *Stator* (for he adds this epithet) was what is called *Peripteros*, that is, it had an open colonnade all round it, and the number of pillars on the two fronts and on the sides were in the proportion of six to eleven. The plan of it preserved in the Capitol does not represent it as such.

We learn from an inscription, which is still extant upon the frieze, that the building suffered by fire, and was restored by S. Severus

^o Vol. ii. p. 590.

and his son Caracalla. This probably was the second fire which had injured it, as Dio^p mentions it among the buildings which suffered from a great fire in the reign of Titus: and an ancient inscription was found not far off, importing that Adrian had repaired the temples which had suffered by fire.

PILLAR OF TRAJAN.

This pillar was erected about the year of our Lord 115, in commemoration of Trajan's two Dacian campaigns. Dio Cassius says, that it was erected by Trajan himself before he went to the Parthian war: but according to the inscription it was the work of the senate and people of Rome, and when Trajan had the Tribunitian power for the seventeenth time, which is equivalent to the seventeenth year of his reign; and in this year Trajan was absent in the Parthian and Armenian wars. The words of Dio are, "that
" he built libraries, and placed a lofty column in
" his Forum, partly as a burial-place for himself,
" and partly to shew to posterity the works which
" he had constructed round the Forum." We may perhaps reconcile the seeming contradiction, by supposing that Trajan had intended to erect such a column, and made a beginning, but the senate finished it. There is a coin extant, on one side of which is a head of Trajan, with this

^p Lib. lxi.

inscription; IMP. CAES. NERVAE. TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DAC. P. M. TR. P. COS. VI. P. P. On the reverse is the pillar, with a figure on the top of it, and S. P. Q. R. OPTIMO. PRINCIPI. S. C. In the course of this expedition he died at Seleucia of a dysenteric fever, so that he never saw the column which was erected in honour of him. His ashes were brought home, and placed in a golden ball at the top of the pillar, which was a singular honour, on account of the custom which prohibited any burials within the walls. Some accounts place this golden ball in the hand of the statue which was at the top of the pillar: others say that it was deposited at the bottom¹.

A story is told by the Catholics, that Gregory the Great having read an anecdote of this emperor's humanity, went to the column, and from thence entered a neighbouring church, where he prayed for Trajan's soul. An angel appeared to him, and assured him, that the emperor's soul was secure in the care of his Creator; but to satisfy the Divine justice, Gregory himself was to suffer penance for it, either in this world or in the next. Gregory preferred the present life, and submitted to much penance for the soul of the Pagan emperor. Dante alludes to this in his *Purg.* x. 73.

Quivi era storiata l'alta Gloria

Del Roman Prince, lo cui gran valore

Mosse Gregorio all sua gran Vittoria.

¹ Vid. Cassiodor. Chron.

The anecdote which urged Gregory to this pious act is also told here; and more may be found of the efficacy of his penance in *Parad.* xx. 45, &c. It may be mentioned, that the story rests principally upon the authority of an Englishman, John of Salisbury, who wrote in the twelfth century. But we may learn from Tiraboschi^r, that the reality of the vision is not an article of faith with the Catholics, as he ridicules it extremely.

The pillar stood in a magnificent Forum, which was also called after the name of Trajan. Apollodorus designed it, and within the circuit of it there was a palace, gymnasium, library, triumphal arch, porticos, &c. many of which were ornamented on the top with equestrian statues and military ensigns gilt^s. Gold coins are in existence, on the reverse of which this Forum is represented. Alexander Severus ornamented it with the statues of illustrious men^t; and the same custom was continued in the time of Arcadius and Honorius. These have all been destroyed, and nothing now remains but the pillar itself. Till the time of Sextus V. the accumulation of soil about it was so great, that it rose even above the pedestal. An excavation was then made, and at present there is an area of an oval form round the pillar to a considerable extent. This was sunk to the level of the ancient Forum, and the whole seems formerly to have

^r Tom. iii. par. 1. p. 113, &c.

^s Vid. A. Gell. lib. xiii. c. 24. Pausan. lib. v. c. 12.

^t Lamprid.

been flagged with marble. Four rows of granite columns have also been brought to light, all of which are broken off about eight feet from the base. These probably belonged to the Ulpian Basilica, or Library, which was of great celebrity. In the middle of the square was an equestrian statue of Trajan, in bronze gilt. Ammianus Marcellinus tells us^a, that when the Emperor Constans entered Rome, A. D. 356, “and came “to the Forum of Trajan, a structure which I “conceive to be unique in the world, and de- “serving the admiration even of celestial beings, “he was struck with astonishment, casting his “thoughts over its gigantic edifices, which it is “impossible to describe, or for any mortals to “imitate. Giving up therefore all hopes of at- “tempting any thing similar, he said, that the “only thing which he would or could imitate “was the horse on which the emperor sat. “Upon which Hormisdas, of the royal family “of Persia, who was near him, said, ‘First ‘order a stable to be built similar to this, if you ‘have the means: may the horse, which you pur- ‘pose forming, have as extensive success as that ‘which we are looking at.’ The destruction of this beautiful Forum certainly did not take place under Alaric or Genseric: for Cassiodorus, who wrote about the year 500, or a little after, says of it^b, “The Forum of Trajan is a perfect mira- “cle, if we inspect it even with the utmost mi-

^a Lib. xvi. c. 10.^b Var. lib. vii. form. 6.

“nuteness:” and he is here speaking of the most remarkable objects to be seen in the city.

The same architect Apollodorus also built the column. Eutropius and Cassiodorus call it one hundred and forty feet high; but P. Victor says one hundred and twenty-eight, which agrees with the measurement in modern Roman feet. P. Victor is however wrong in the number of the steps and windows, making one hundred and eighty-five of the former and forty-five of the latter; whereas there are one hundred and eighty-four steps, and forty-three windows or apertures for light. The base measures twenty feet on each side, it is covered with trophies, and at each corner is an eagle holding in his talons a wreath of oak, which extends from one to the other. A laurel wreath surrounds the bottom of the shaft as a Torus.

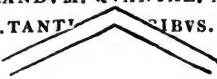
The shaft itself is covered with bas-reliefs, which go round the whole from the bottom to the top in twenty-three spirals. They represent the exploits of Trajan in both his Dacian expeditions. There are about two thousand five hundred figures in all, and that of Trajan is repeated more than fifty times. The figures are about two feet high in the lower part of the column, but towards the top they increase in size, that they may appear the same from below. The highest figures have nearly double the height of the lower ones, as have the spirals themselves. Only thirty-three separate pieces of marble are used in the whole work, of which eight are in the

base, twenty-three in the shaft, one in the capital, and one above it. There is a spiral staircase within, which winds twelve times round, and contains, as stated above, one hundred and eighty-four steps.

A statue of Trajan formerly surmounted the whole, as may be proved from coins still extant. The head was also found in the rubbish at the bottom, and came into the possession of the Cardinal della Valle. The feet were standing in the time of Sextus V. It is conjectured, that the height of the statue was twenty-one feet. Bellori says eighteen. Sextus V. erected one in gilt bronze to St. Peter in 1587.

The inscription on the base is as follows: •

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
IMP. CAES. DIVI. NERVAE. F
TRAIANO. AVG. GERM. DACICO. PONT
MAXIMO. TRIB. POT. XVII. IMP. VI. COS. VI. PP.
AD. DECLARARANDVM. QVANTAE. ALTITVDINIS
MONS. ET. LOCVS. TANTIS. OPERIBVS. SIT. EGESTVS



In the last line some of the letters have been defaced by buildings erected against the pillar in the middle ages. TANTIS. OPERIBVS is the general conjecture; some have proposed RVDERIBVS, others EX. COLLIBVS, others OPIBVS. Fabretti argues, that we must read OPERIBVS, as there is only room to supply three letters. He is opposed

† Note of C. Fea to Winkelmann, lib. vi. c. 7.

by Lipsius*, Gruterus*, and others, who propose *RVDERIBVS*: but they probably never examined the pillar, as Fabretti did, to see the actual space which is defaced. This argument is perhaps most decisive; but Mabillon in his *Analecta*, p. 360, publishes a Manuscript of the ninth century, from the convent at Einsidlen, in which, among many other inscriptions on Roman buildings, this is given, and *OPERIBVS* is distinctly read. Whatever the true reading may be, enough remains to prove the extraordinary fact, that as much soil was cut away to form this Forum as equalled the height of the pillar. We learn this also from Dio Cassius, who says, that he dug through as much of the hill as equals the height of the column, and by that means made a level for his Forum.

The bas-reliefs have been engraved on a large scale, and published with a short description by F. Alfonso Ciacono, Rome 1616. This is a very interesting work, and enables us to have a near inspection of the whole series of figures. The editor entitles it, *An History of both the Dacian Wars*; and by comparing the accounts given by historians with the sculptures on the pillar, he is able to illustrate both. Another work was published by Fabretti at Rome, 1683, entitled, *Syntagma de Columna Trajani*, which is a sort of criticism upon the work of Ciacono, and filled with learned remarks upon a great variety of

* De Magnitudine Romæ, lib. iii. c. 7. * P. 237.

subjects. He also published at the end of it the historical illustrations of his predecessor. We may see drawings of the whole series by the hand of Giulio Romano, now in the Ducal Palace at Modena.

Trajan undertook his first expedition into Dacia in the third year of his reign, A. D. 101. It lasted three years; and in the following year he celebrated his triumph, which is described in the bas-reliefs. The effect of the campaign was to make the enemy sue for peace. In the second expedition Trajan gained many victories, and Dacia was made a Roman province. King Decebalus killed himself, which is represented in the bas-reliefs, as is the bringing of his head and hands to Trajan. The year of the second triumph is not certain.

The Roman dress and manners may receive considerable light from these bas-reliefs. We find the soldiers constantly carrying their swords on the right side. On a march they are generally bare-headed: some have no helmets at all, others wear them suspended to their right shoulder. Some of them have lions' heads by way of a cap, with the mane hanging down behind. Each of them carry a stick over the left shoulder, which seems to have been for the purpose of conveying their provisions. We may observe a wallet, a vessel for wine, a machine for dressing meat, &c. We know, from other accounts, that they sometimes carried sixty pounds, and food for seventeen days: they never carried less than enough

for three days. Their shields are oblong, with different devices upon them. The standards are of various kinds; such as a hand within a wreath of laurel, which was considered a sign of concord. Pictures also were used, which were portraits of gods or heroes. The soldiers wear upon their legs a kind of tight pantaloons, reaching a little below the knee, and not buttoned. The Dacians have loose pantaloons, reaching to the ankle and shoes: they also carry curved swords. The Sarmatian cavalry, allies of Decebalus, wear plait-armour, covering the men and horses. These we learn from Ammianus^b were called Cataphracti, or Clibanarii. His description exactly answers the representation on the column: “Quos laminarum circuli tenues apti corporis flexibus ambiebant, per omnia membra ducti: ut quocumque artus necessitas commo- visset, vestitus congrueret junctura cohærenter aptata.” Some Roman soldiers have also plait-armour; but they are archers. The horses have saddles, or rather cloths, which are fastened by cords round the breast and under the tail. The Dacian horses are without this covering; and the Germans, or some other allies, have neither saddles nor bridles to their horses.

We might observe several other particulars, such as a bridge of boats over a river, and that the boats every where are without a rudder, but are guided by an oar fastened with a thong on

^b Lib. xvi. c. 10.

one side of the stern. The wall of the camp has battlements, and the heads of the Dacians are stuck upon it. The Dacian women are represented burning the Roman prisoners. We may also see the *Testudo*, formed by soldiers putting their shields together in a compact mass over their backs : also the sacrifice, called *Suovetaurilia*. Victory is represented as writing with a pen upon a shield.

PILLAR OF M. AURELIUS.

This is generally called the Pillar of Antonine ; and if we followed the inscription upon the base, we should believe it to have been erected in honour of Antoninus Pius. But this inscription is modern and erroneous, having been placed there by Sextus V. who repaired the whole column, and particularly the base. It is now universally agreed, that the pillar was erected to M. Aurelius by the senate, and the bas-reliefs are entirely devoted to the exploits of that emperor. These surround the pillar in a spiral form, like that of Trajan.

It is one hundred and seventy-five feet high ; but different writers vary as to the number of the steps and windows. Many make two hundred and six steps and fifty-six windows : but Jos. Castalio, who published a special account of it^c, says, that he found one hundred and ninety steps

^c Vid. Grævii Thes. vol. iv. p. 1940.

and forty-one windows. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, the whole column was in such a state of decay, that the staircase could not be ascended, which may account for the variation; but Castalio's enumeration is probably the true one. The staircase is now accessible. Sextus V. besides repairing the base, placed on the top a statue of St. Paul, fourteen palms (10½ feet) high. It is supposed that there was a statue here formerly, and some make it eighteen palms (13½ feet) high: but the coin, which is quoted in proof of there having been a statue, represents another column, which was erected by M. Aurelius and L. Verus to Antoninus Pius, and is often confounded with this. Besides the injury inflicted upon the pillar by time, it has suffered by lightning. This befel it in the time of Innocent XI. but not for the first time.

The bas-reliefs upon this column have been engraved by Bartoli, and published by Dom. de Rubeis. They are not so well executed as those on the Pillar of Trajan. The object most worthy of observation in them is the figure of Jupiter Pluvius, in commemoration of the shower of rain, which came suddenly to the relief of the Roman army in their war with the Quadi, A. D. 174. The dispute which has arisen upon this story is well known. I shall therefore only mention in the notes the names of those authors who ascribe the miracle to the prayers of the Christians, and

of those who simply mention the fact, without alluding to the Christians^d.

THE FORUM.

The Forum is perhaps the most melancholy object which Rome contains within its walls. We may lament the ruin of a temple or a palace; but our interest in the fragments remaining is frequently diminished, by our either not knowing with certainty to what building they belonged, or because history has not stamped them with any peculiar recollections. But standing upon the hill of the Capitol, and looking down upon the Roman Forum, we contemplate a scene with which we fancy ourselves familiar, and we seem suddenly to have quitted the habitations of living men. Not only is its former grandeur utterly annihilated, but the ground has not been applied to any other purpose. When we descend into it, we find that many of the ancient buildings are buried under irregular heaps of soil; and a warm imagination might fancy that some spell hung over the spot, for-

^d Tertullian. in *Apologetico*, c. 5; et ad *Scapulam*, c. 4. Euseb. *Chron. et Hist. Eccles.* lib. v. c. 5. Nicephorus, lib. iv. c. 12. Paulus Orosius, lib. vii. c. 9. Gregor. Nyss. de *Quadr. Mart. Or.* ii. Letter of Antoninus at the end of Justin Mart. Ap. i. These mention the prayers of the Christians. The following only detail the simple fact: Dio, lib. lxxi. Jul. Capitol. in M. Aur. c. 24. Æl. Lamprid. in *Heliogab.* c. 9. Themist. Or. 15. Claudian. de *Sexto Cons. Honorij*, 340.

bidding it to be profaned by the ordinary occupation of inhabited cities.

What Virgil says of its appearance before the Trojan settlers arrived, is singularly true at the present moment,

passim armenta videres
Romanoque foro et lautis mugire carinis.
ÆN. viii. 360.

Where the Roman people saw temples erected to perpetuate their exploits, and where the Roman nobles vied with each other in the magnificence of their dwellings, we now see a few insulated pillars standing amidst some broken arches: or, if the curiosity of foreigners has investigated what the natives neither think nor care about, we may perhaps see the remnant of a statue or a column extracted from the rubbish. Where the Comitia were held, where Cicero harangued, and where the triumphal processions passed, we have now no animated beings, except strangers attracted by curiosity, the convicts, who are employed in excavating as a punishment, and those more harmless animals already alluded to, who find a scanty pasture, and a shelter from the sun under a grove of trees. The Roman Forum is now called the *Campo Vaccino*.

If we look to the boundaries of this desolation, the prospect is equally mournful. At one end we have the hill of the Capitol, on the summit of which, instead of the Temple of Jupiter, the wonder of the world, we have the palace of the

solitary senator. If we wish to ascend this eminence, we have on one side the most ancient structure in Rome, and that a prison: on the other the ruins of a temple, which seems to have been among the finest in Rome, the name of which is not known. If we turn from the Capitol, we have on our right the Palatine hill, which once contained the whole Roman people, which was afterwards insufficient for the house of one emperor, and is now occupied by a few gardens and a convent. On the left there is a range of churches, formed out of ancient temples; and in front we discover, at a considerable distance, through the branches of trees and the ruins of buildings, the mouldering arches of the Colosseum.

If ever we could wish to meditate, and might be allowed to moralize, upon the vicissitudes of human greatness, it would be here. I could well pardon the weakness of that mind, if it must be called weakness, which feels sorrow at such a scene. But I could neither envy the philosophy, nor pardon the selfishness of him, who, because nature has denied him a heart susceptible of such impressions, would extend the prohibition to all around him. When Marcellus wept as Syracuse was about to fall, and Marius surveyed the ruins of Carthage with the eye not of a hero, but of a man, we surely do not think that human nature was degraded: but the sorrow of the one must have been increased by the thought, that so much splendor must shortly fall a sacrifice to his

own glory : and when Marius saw his country's ancient rival in the dust, he must have felt that the same cause which sent him as an exile to the shores of Africa, might shortly level his own city to the fate of Carthage. Yet are we accustomed to admire the feelings both of Marcellus and of Marius. May we not then be allowed to sympathize with the mighty names which once graced the Roman Forum? May we not see in it a memorial, that whatever is great may be overthrown? and, what is more mortifying to human pride, that much which is overthrown may be forgotten? Posthumous fame has such charms for some men, that they would consent to be overwhelmed, if they were certain that they would be talked about some thousand years after. But ambition would find but poor encouragement in the ruins of the Forum, where so much greatness lies doubly buried ; and though some fragments may occasionally be brought to light from the soil which covers them, yet the revolution of ages has consigned them to oblivion, and they serve only to excite the ingenuity or the jealousy of antiquaries.

But we must turn from these meditations to a detail of the melancholy scene. If a line be drawn in one direction from the Arch of S. Severus to the Church of St. Theodore, and from the same arch to the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, or from the Temple of Jupiter Tonans to that of Jupiter Stator, we shall have some notion of the length and breadth of the Forum.

Vitruvius tells us^c, that the Roman plan was different from that of the Greeks. With the latter the Forum was in the form of a square; with the Romans it was an oblong, the breadth being about two-thirds of the length. Within the walls of Rome there were many open spaces, which obtained the name of Forum, such as the Boarium, that of Cæsar, Nerva, Trajan, &c. But the Forum Romanum obtained the name in a more particular manner, and when we speak simply of the Forum, it is this which we would be understood to mean.

.. If we wish to know what buildings or other objects the area of it contained, we must look to history. The place itself will afford us little information. Some light may perhaps be thrown upon the subject, if the excavations are continued; but the surface is at present only made more unsightly by the hillocks of soil, which are thrown up in all directions, and suffered to remain. We must naturally suppose, that much open space was left for public meetings, and the ordinary occupation of a market-place; but there were also buildings of various descriptions, both for use and ornament. Besides temples, columns, and arches, we read of shops and porticos, which seem to have surrounded the whole. The first care of Romulus and Tatius was to make it level, removing the trees which grew there, and draining off the water, which flowed

^c Lib. v. c. 1.

into it as a general receptacle from the surrounding eminences^f. Tarquinius Priscus parcelled out certain portions of it, where private individuals might build; and during his reign shops and porticos were constructed. We learn from Vitruvius, that by the term portico, we are not to understand a mere open colonnade for the purpose of walking under, but places in which there were shops, (he mentions particularly those of silversmiths or bankers, [*argentarii*]) and that there were apartments over them^g. Perhaps the Palais Royal at Paris, or St. Mark's place at Venice, may give us a good notion how the walks and shops were constructed on the sides. The middle of it was by no means free from buildings, as we read of streets passing through it, which would imply, that part of it was covered with houses, leaving a passage for the people to pass. The Via Sacra entered the Forum near the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, passing, as is supposed, under an arch, called that of Fabius. The name however does not seem to have been lost, when it reached the Forum: and perhaps the Via Sacra was rather an expression for the whole line of streets, through which the triumphal processions passed from the Arch of Constantine to the Capitol, than any one particular street which bore that name. It certainly was not in a straight line; but after it had passed under the Arch of Titus, it went in a

^f Dion. Hal. lib. ii.^g Lib. v. c. 1.

slanting direction towards the Temple of Peace, and from thence to the Arch of Fabius. Whether there were more streets than this in the Forum, or whether the greater part of it was an open space, we find, that sometimes the extraordinary luxury was practised of covering it with awnings. Cæsar spread them over the whole of the Forum and the whole of the Via Sacra, from his own house to the Clivus Capitolinus^a. This was during his dictatorship, and when he wished to amuse the people with games. Marcellus did so, when no spectacles were being exhibited, and merely with a view to make it more wholesome for those, who were engaged in law-suitsⁱ. We learn from Dio^b, that the awning was sometimes made of silk.

It is not my intention to extract from ancient writers a description of buildings, which once ornamented the Forum, but are now no longer in existence. We read of Temples to Cæsar, to Augustus, to Castor and Pollux, to Vesta, and other divinities; but an enquiry into the situation which they probably held, or into the number and height of their columns, would be any thing but interesting, and never can lead to certainty. The position of the Rostra, the Comitium, as well as of many other objects, is equally uncertain; and though much might be said as to the use which was made of them, and the facts connected with their history, yet in treating of

^a Plin. lib. xix. c. 6.ⁱ Ibid.^b Lib. xliii.

the monuments still existing in Rome we must omit such subjects, as not forming part of our plan.

We have very little remaining within the actual verge of the Forum. The three pillars, which stand at the foot of the Palatine hill, are commonly ascribed to the Temple of Jupiter Stator, others have called them the Temple of Vulcan, and some persons of late have been inclined to see in them a part of the Comitium. Though only three columns remain, supporting a small portion of the frieze and cornice, yet there is nothing in Rome so much calculated to inspire us with an idea of the magnificence of ancient architecture. They are of white marble, of the Corinthian order, and are the largest fluted columns in Rome. Desgodetz gives their height in the French measure as forty-five feet three inches, and seven lines. The flutings are one Roman palm across, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches, English¹. It might be conjectured, that considerable force had been used to destroy this temple: for it may be observed, that some of the blocks, of which the shafts are composed, have received a violent wrench, so as actually to force them out of their places, and destroy the continuity of the fluting. The part, which remains, probably belonged to one of the sides, as there is no trace

¹ The flutings of the Temple of Jupiter Olympius at Girgenti (Agrigentum) are two palms ($17\frac{1}{2}$ inches) across, which confirms the remark of Diodorus Siculus, (lib. xiii.) that a man could stand in the flutings.

of a pediment, which it would have had at either of the fronts.

The Temple of Antoninus and Faustina is now converted into the Church of S. Lorenzo in Miranda. This formed nearly the north-east angle of the Forum. It was erected, A. D. 178, by M. Aurelius, in honour of his predecessor Antoninus, and his own wife Faustina, who was daughter of Antoninus. Julius Capitolinus mentions the building of it; and the inscription upon the frieze still remains :

DIVO. ANTONINO. ET
DIVAE. FAVSTINAE. EX. S. C.

A considerable portion of the ancient building is preserved : but the principal part is the portico of ten columns, six in front and two on each side. They are Corinthian, and of the marble called Cipollino, anciently *Lapis Phrygius* : the bases and capitals are of white marble. Their whole height is sixty-three palms. The form of the temple was oblong; and it was not *peripteros*, or surrounded with an open colonnade, so that there probably never were more than these ten pillars, unless there were some at the other end. All the cornice of the front has disappeared, as have the shafts of the pilasters at the sides : but some ornaments in the frieze, consisting of griffins and candelabra, are still tolerably perfect. The portico was buried to more than half the height of the pillars; but they are now laid open to the bases, so that the whole

may be seen ; but they do not present any great appearance of beauty, as the marble, of which they are formed, is a very indifferent sort.

To speak correctly, these are all the ancient remains which belonged to the Forum : but there are other buildings not far off, which may properly be mentioned in this place. Before we quit the verge of the Forum, we ought however to say something of the pillar of Phocas, which undoubtedly stood within it. It is only within a very few years, that any thing was known for certain respecting this column. The whole of the base and part of the shaft was buried ; and the ingenuity of antiquaries was greatly exercised to give it a name. L. Fauno conjectures it to have been that of Duilius ; and others had ascribed it to the Temple of Jupiter Custos ; others to the Bridge of Caligula. The Duchess of Devonshire has the merit of having an excavation made round it in 1816, at which time an inscription was discovered upon the base, from which we learn, that a gilt statue was placed on the top of it in 608, to the Emperor Phocas, by Smaragdus, Exarch of Italy. As the inscription cannot yet have made its way into many books of travels, I will give it at length : but not having made any transcript of it myself, I am obliged to copy it from the Itinerary of Vasi, which I should fear is not very correct. It is singular, that the name of Phocas himself has been erased, probably by his successor Heraclius, who deposed and murdered Phocas, A. D. 610. Other

words also are obliterated, which I have marked by a line under them.

† OPTIMO CLEMENTIS. FELICISSIMOQVE
PRINCIPI DOMINO N. PHOCÆ IMPERATORI
PERPETVO ADO CORONATO TRIUMPHATORI
 SEMPER AVGVSTO
 SMARAGDV^S EX PRAEPOS SACRI PALATII
 AC PATRICIVS ET EXARCHVS ITALIAE
 DEVOTVS EIVS CLEMENTIAE
 PRO INNVMERABILIVS PIETATIS EIVS
 BENEFICIIS ET PRO QVIETE
 PROCVRATA ITAL. AC CONSERVATA LIBERTATE
 HANC STATVAM PIETATIS EIVS
 AVRI SPLENDORE MICANTEM HVIC
 SVBLIMI COLVMNAE AD PERENNEM
 IPSIVS GLORIAM IMPOSVIT AC DEDICAVIT
 DIE PRIMA MENSIS AVGVST. INDICT. VND
 PC PIETATIS EIVS ANNO QVINTO

We may be surprised to read so flattering a tribute to so execrable a tyrant. Gregory the Great, who was then pope, has also made honourable mention of him in his Epistles, which gives Gibbon occasion to say^m, that “the joyful
 “applause, with which he salutes the fortune of
 “the assassin, has sullied with indelible disgrace
 “the character of the saint.” But we should remember, (which Gibbon does not mention,) that his enormities had been confined to the eastern empire, whereas Italy seems to have been fa-

^m Decline and Fall, c. 46.

voured by him. He wrote to Gregory, proposing an orthodox confession of faith, acknowledged the supremacy of the Romish see, was very liberal to the Roman churches, and allowed the Pantheon to be converted to Christian purposes. All which must have been extremely gratifying to a pope in the seventh century, and perhaps we ought to make some allowance for his feelings in the nineteenth.

Marlianus, who wrote in the sixteenth century, says, that some letters were visible in his time on one side of the plinth, but were so worn by age, that nothing could be made out. The pillar is Corinthian, of Greek marble, and fluted, sixty-three palms (forty-six feet two inches) high. It stands upon a high pyramid of steps, and is probably much older than the time of Phocas.

On the declivity of the Capitol, and not far from this column, are three pillars, which are said to have belonged to the Temple of Jupiter Tonans. It is known from Suetonius, that Augustus erected such a temple at the foot of the Capitol, upon occasion of one of the servants, who was preceding his litter, being struck with lightning; but what is the evidence for identifying it with these remains, I do not know. Augustus' building was restored by S. Severus and Caracalla; and as we still read *ESTITVER* upon the frieze, this certainly may be the same. The pillars were till lately buried almost up to the capitals, but are now laid open to the bottom. They are of great size, being six palms (four feet

four inches) in diameter, of white marble, Corinthian and fluted. Upon the lateral frieze there are several ornaments connected with sacrifices, such as the *Albogalerus*, or cap, which the Flamen Dialis wore: the *Secespita*, or iron knife, with an ivory handle, used by the same priest: the *Capedunculus*, or dish: an axe, a hammer, the *aquiminarium* or jug; the *aspersorium*, or instrument for sprinkling the lustral water, all of them used in the rights of Jupiter^m, which may be another argument, that these remains are rightly named. There is a coin of Augustus, on the reverse of which is a portico with six pillars. The two middle ones are wider apart than the rest; and between them is a figure of Jupiter with the letters IOV. RON. Vitruvius says, that the Temple of Jupiter Tonans had a portico of thirty columns.

Not far from these remains are eight other pillars, which are commonly said to belong to the Temple of Concord. Six of them are in front; the other two behind. On the architrave we read,

SENATVS. POPVLVSQVE. ROMANVS
INCENDIO. CONSVPTVM. RESTITVIT.

Scarcely any thing remains above the architrave: all that exists is of brick; and there are arches in it over the intercolumniations. We may re-

^m There is a coin, which has on one side an elephant and CAESAR; on the reverse four of these sacred instruments.

gret the destruction of this temple more particularly, because at no very distant period it was nearly perfect, and was wantonly destroyed. Poggio, who wrote in the beginning of the fifteenth century, tells us, that the whole of the temple, with part of the portico, was burnt to make lime; and that the pillars were thrown down since he came to Rome. Andrea Fulvio relates the same story; and this may perhaps furnish us with too true an insight into the cause of so many majestic edifices having entirely disappeared. When this temple was restored, after the fire, it was probably done in haste, and materials were employed in it which belonged to different buildings: for it has been observed, that neither the diameters of the pillars nor the intercolumniations are equal. The two angular columns alone have plinths, and the capitals are composed of Doric and Ionic mixed. They are of granite, and all of one piece, fifty-nine palms (forty-three feet three inches) high: the bases and capitals are of white marble.

Now that it is so much the fashion with the Roman antiquaries to call into dispute the names which have been given to ancient buildings, the Temple of Concord has been obliged to change its title, and it is conjectured to have been a Temple of Fortune. This goddess was certainly worshipped near this spot, as appears from some verses at Præneste:

Tu quoque Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti,
Votorum vindex semper Fortuna meorum.

We know also from Zosimus, that the Temple of Fortune was burnt in the time of Maxentius ; and any repair made after his time would be likely to be in bad taste, as this certainly was. So that it is by no means improbable that we should be justified in altering the appellation of these remains.

Part of the Church of SS. Cosmo and Damiano is ancient. It was perhaps not actually in the verge of the Forum, but near to it. The round vestibule is generally said to have belonged to a Temple of Remus, but others have called it a Temple of Quirinus. Livy mentions one having been erected by Papirius in 460 U. C.^o and this may have been the Temple of Quirinus, which was burnt in 703, and restored by Augustus : but it is stated to have had seventy-six columns attached to it, which presents a greater idea of magnificence than seems to have belonged to this small Vestibule. It was converted to the purpose of a Christian church by St. Felix III. in 530 ; repaired in 689 by Sergius I. ; and again in 780 by Adrian I. who added the bronze doors. Its present appearance however is very different from what it was during those periods : for the church being found extremely damp, on account of the great accumulation of soil outside, Urban VIII. raised the level of it ; so that the present floor is about twenty feet higher than that of the ancient temple ; and its doors of bronze, with the two pillars of porphyry, were formerly much

^o Lib. x. c. 46.

lower down than they are now. The original level may be seen by descending some steps near the altar. There is a curious echo in the vestibule.

Close to this church are some of the most remarkable remains in Rome, which till lately were always said to have belonged to the Temple of Peace. Good reasons, however, are given for making us believe that this name has been wrongly applied. It is certain, from Suetonius and from Josephus, that Vespasian erected a magnificent temple near the Forum, and consecrated it to Peace. But we also learn from Herodian, that the whole of it was consumed by fire in the reign of Commodus. Procopius tells us, that the ruins were lying on the ground in his time; nor is it likely that it was rebuilt subsequently: so that we can hardly imagine the present remains to belong to the building erected by Vespasian. It is more difficult to decide what we ought to call it. Vasi thinks that it is the Basilica of Constantine; but I have not found any other authority for this idea. A small portion only of the original building remains; but the parts of it are on a prodigious scale. It consists of three very large arches, each about seventy-five feet across. We should consider these in the present day as a side aisle, or as three lateral chapels. The rest of the building has disappeared; but the plan may be made out, and it seems to have consisted of a nave, with an aisle on each side: these were divided from each other

by eight pillars, four of which stood against the piers which divide these arches. One of them may still be seen in Rome, it being that very beautiful pillar which stands in front of St. Maria Maggiore. It was removed from its original place by Paul V. and measures sixty-four palms (forty-seven feet) in height. Nothing gives us a greater idea of the splendor of the structure, than the vast and elegant proportions of this column: and if we are really to assign the building to the days of Constantine, we must suppose, that the eight pillars came from some edifice which had been erected at an earlier period. The middle arch of the three is recessed farther back; and each of the others has two rows of windows, with three in each row. The ceiling of all of them was ornamented with stucco, much of which still remains. It is calculated that the whole length of the temple was 326 feet, and the width 220. The entrance is supposed to have been at the side facing the Colosseum.

Beyond this are the ruins of the Temple of Venus and Rome. We see here two chapels, joining each other by the semicircular tribunes; and this is all that now remains, though when the building was entire it was extremely magnificent. This temple had the singular honour of having an emperor for its architect; as Adrian himself, who was fond of this study, drew out a plan of it, and submitted it to Apollodorus, who had distinguished himself so much in the reign of Trajan, by building the Forum of that em-

peror, and the bridge over the Danube. Adrian was fond of all the fine arts, and fancied himself a great proficient in them. We know that he amused himself with painting and sculpture; and Aurelius Victor is complaisant enough to compare him to Polycletus and Euphranor. Apollodorus had reason to lament his having an emperor for a rival; for as he was not so good a courtier as Aurelius Victor, he did not much praise his master's taste in the plan of this temple; and having offended him by a former expression of his opinion, he was punished with death. Dio gives us the account of this temple; from whom it appears that it was surrounded by a portico, and the whole length was 730 palms, (535 feet,) the width 437 palms, (321 feet.) Prudentius also mentions it:

ante
Delubrum Romæ (colitur nam sanguine et ipsa
More Deæ, nomenque loci ceu numen habetur :
Atque Urbis Venerisque pari se culmine tollunt
Templa :) simul geminis adolentur thura Deabus.

Contr. Sym. i. 218.

The people of Smyrna were the first who erected a Temple to Rome, U. C. 559^p.

Between the Forum Romanum and that of Trajan there were two others, that of Augustus, and that of Nerva. The latter was begun by Domitian, and finished by Nerva; and from its communicating with the two others was called Transitorium, or Pervium. Part of the wall

^p Tac. An. lib. iv. c. 56.

which bounded this still remains, of a great height, and about 144 paces long. It is composed of square masses of freestone, very large, without any cement, and it is extraordinary, that it is not carried in a straight line, but makes three or four angles, as if some buildings had interfered with its direction. There is an arch in it called *L'Arco de' Pantani*, and this also is irregularly built, as the sides of it are not at right angles, but oblique. It seems to be at least half buried by the accumulation of soil.

Close to this arch are some remains of the temple erected in honour of Nerva, by Trajan. Others have called it the temple erected to *Mars Ultor* by Augustus, in consequence of a vow, which he made in the campaign against Brutus and Cassius. Venuti says that there was formerly this inscription on the architrave :

IMP. NERVA. CAESAR. AVG. PONTIF
MAX. TRIB. POT. II. IMP. II. PROCOS.

Pliny mentions a temple to Nerva in his *Panegyric*, and it is said to have been one of the most magnificent in Rome. At present nothing remains but three pillars and a pilaster of the *Portico*, which looked towards the *Forum Romanum*. These pillars are *Corinthian*, of *Parian marble*, fifty-four feet and a half high. The architrave, which is supported by them, is handsomely ornamented. The monastery of the *Nunziatina* is built immediately behind these pillars,

and a high brick tower belonging to it rises over them.

Not far from this, and still nearer to the Forum Romanum, is a still more beautiful fragment, consisting of two columns supporting a magnificent architrave, which are supposed to have belonged to a Temple of Minerva. The pillars are Corinthian, eleven feet in circumference, and calculated to be thirty-one in height, but more than half of them is buried. The frieze is very rich, containing bas-reliefs characteristic of Minerva, of very good workmanship. Above this is an attic story, which has suffered considerably, but a figure of Minerva in the middle of it is tolerably perfect. This may be the temple mentioned by Pliny¹, "when the Forum was dedicated, which is called *Pervium*, in which a "loftier and more magnificent temple is erected "to Minerva."

TRIUMPHAL ARCHES.

Pliny calls the Triumphal Arch a new invention: not that they were unknown before the time of Vespasian, but because they were of much meaner materials and unornamented. Romulus is said to have had one of brick; and Blondus, an antiquary of the fifteenth century, says, that the remains of it fell down in his time. Camillus had one of stone, which was not far

¹ Lib. vii. c. 26.

from S. Maria sopra Minerva. All those which still remain, or of which the situations are known, were placed in the way, along which the triumphal processions passed to the Capitol. It seems probable, however, that sometimes temporary arches were erected during the triumph, and the more durable ones afterwards.

ARCH OF JANUS.

This, which is the most ancient now remaining, was probably not a Triumphal Arch. It is the only one of the kind in Rome. This name was given to all those Arches which had passages through them both ways; that is, where there were two arches cutting each other at right angles. Such Arches were called simply *Jani*; as Suetonius says of Domitian, "He erected a great many *Jani* and Arches with cars and triumphal insignia in different quarters of the city." The Temple of Janus itself was probably on this plan. The first was built by Numa'. Plutarch calls it *πρὸς δίθυρον*, a *two-gated temple*: and Servius has the following passage, at *Æn.* vii. 607. "Numa Pompilius erected this sanctuary, (the Temple of Janus,) near the bottom of the Argiletus, by the Theatre of Marcellus: it consisted of two very small temples. There were two, on account of Janus having two faces. Afterwards when

^r Liv. lib. i. c. 19.

“ Falerii, a Tuscan city, was taken, an image of
 “ Janus with four fronts was found : in conse-
 “ quence of which, that which Numa had finished
 “ was removed to the Forum Transitorium, and
 “ one temple was built with four gates.” The
 words of Servius seem to shew, that the building
 erected by Numa was not far from the present
 Arch of Janus. It is ornamented with twelve
 niches on each side ; and on the east and west
 they are all deep enough to have contained sta-
 tues. On the other sides only four are of that
 depth. Varro* says, that Janus had twelve altars
 dedicated to him, one for each month of the year.
 Some have imagined, that the twelve niches on
 each side of this arch relate to this custom ; and
 appeal to the etymology of *Janus*, which they
 say is synonymous with *Tempus*.

Not much is known as to the date or purpose
 of this Arch. There is reason to believe, that it
 was made use of by the bankers and money-
 changers ; and Horace alludes to this, or a simi-
 lar building, when he says,

postquam omnis res mea Janum
 Ad medium fracta est. SAT. ii. 3, 18.

And,

Virtus post nummos. Hæc Janus summus ab imo
 Perdocet. EPIST. i. 1, 54.

The Greek marble, of which it is built, brings the
 date down to the end of the Republic, as that ma-

* Lib. iv.

terial did not begin to be used till that time. Each side is seventy-seven feet long. The lower part has only been lately brought to light from the soil, which had accumulated round it. The brickwork at the top is the work of the middle ages, when it was fortified by the Frangipani family. Much of the demolition of the ancient buildings in Rome is to be attributed to the dissensions of great families, on which occasions these relics were seized upon, as places of defence. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon in the fourteenth century, the Colonna and Orsini families contributed not a little to this destruction.

The spot, on which the Arch stands, forcibly reminds us of former times: no where in Rome is there a greater appearance of desolation and decay. The ground points out by its irregular surface that many buildings are buried under it: the Cloaca Maxima may be seen close by, passing under the stupendous Arch, which covers it: other water flows into it, which occasionally inundates the Arch itself, and which probably formed the Lake of Juturna. Even the ancient name of *Velabrum* is preserved in the Church of S. Georgio in Velabro, which is not far off. That there was always water in this neighbourhood we learn from several passages in ancient authors. Tibullus, lib. ii. el. 5.

At qua Velabri regio patet, ire solebat
Exiguus pulsa per vada linter aqua.

Ovid, *Fasti*, 6, 10.

Qua Velabra solent in Circum ducere pompas,
Nil præter salices crassaque canna fuit :
Hic, ubi nunc fora sunt, lintres errare videres,
Quaque jacent valles, maxime Circe, tuæ.

ARCH OF TITUS.

This stands at the foot of the Palatine hill, on the road leading from the Colosseum to the Forum. It is reckoned one of the most beautiful models of architecture which remain, though it has suffered more than some of the other Arches; nor was it so large, consisting only of one archway. The white marble, of which the whole is composed, is become quite black with age. It is generally quoted, as being the most ancient building, in which the Composite order is found: but Pocock in his *travels*¹ mentions a temple at Melasso (anciently Mylasa) in Caria, where the six pillars of the portico are Composite. His engraving clearly represents them as such; and as the temple was built in honour of Augustus and Rome, as is proved by the inscription still remaining, we have here an earlier specimen than the Arch of Titus by upwards of half a century. If the Composite is rightly called the Roman order, it is singular that the earliest known specimen of it should be in a Greek city; and we may remark as a singular circumstance its

¹ Vol. ii. p. 61.

not being found in the Colosseum, also built by Titus, which consists of four stories, and where the three first are successively Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. It might have been expected, that the fourth would have been Composite, in order to continue the variety, but this also is Corinthian, as well as the one below it. It should be mentioned, however, that when we speak of the Composite order, we are using a term not recognized by the ancients. Vitruvius does not make a fifth order of it, and only notices the variety in the capital, which he says is composed of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. The shaft and other parts are not characterized by him, as having any thing peculiar; and in the same way he considers the Corinthian capital as made up of the Doric and Ionic. Serlio is the first writer who treats of the Composite as a fifth order; and he founds his remarks upon this Arch, the two of Septimius Severus, the Baths of Diocletian, Temple of Bacchus, &c.

This Arch was erected by the senate and people of Rome to commemorate the triumph, which followed the taking of Jerusalem by Titus. The inscription is briefly this,

SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS
DIVO TITO DIVI VESPASIANI F
VESPASIANO AVGVSTO

And from the epithet of *Divus* applied to Titus we learn, that it was not erected till after his

death. This inscription is on the side facing the Colosseum. On the opposite front, the attic and cornice are completely defaced; and the base of one of the pillars is the only ornament remaining on that side. Some of the vessels, which belonged to the temple at Jerusalem, and which were carried in the triumphal procession, appear in the bas-reliefs on the interior sides of the Arch. There is also the emperor himself in a car, drawn by four horses, attended by senators, crowned with laurel.

A Dissertation was written upon these bas-reliefs by Reland, intitled, "*De Spoliis Templi Hierosolymitani in Arcu Titiano, Traj. ad Rhen. 1716,*" in which are given engravings of the Arch, and the figures carved upon it. The treatise is full of Rabbinical learning, and may be interesting to the admirers of that study: but I shall only select from it a few remarks, which relate immediately to the sculptures upon the Arch.

Josephus^a says, that the golden table, golden candlestick, the book of the law, and other spoils, were carried in the triumph. Those, which can be recognized upon the Arch are the candlestick, the table, the vessel of incense, and two trumpets. Reland tells us, that he employed Anthony Twyman, an Englishman, to measure the bas-reliefs for him, and that the candlestick, including the base, was two feet nine inches

^a *De Bello Jud. c. 17.*

(English) in height. The breadth of the base and of the branches at top is exactly the same, each being two feet. This however can of course give us no measure of the height of the candlestick itself. We may observe, that all the branches rise to the same height, so as to form a straight line at top; and the two exterior branches are not similar in their ornaments. With respect to these ornaments, and the form of the candlestick itself, descriptions are to be found in Rabbinical writings: it is also represented in some ancient gems and upon a lamp, engravings of which may be seen in Reland's work.

The account, with which we are most familiar, is that given in Exodus xxv. 31.—36. We there find mention of three different ornaments, bowls, knops, and flowers. Josephus* describes them thus, *πεποιήται δὲ σφαίρια καὶ κρίνα σὺν ῥόισκοις καὶ κρατηρίδιοις· ἐξδομήκοντα δὲ πάντα.* In this passage, the *κρίνα* are what our translators have called flowers; and in the Septuagint they are also called *κρίνα*. The *κρατηρίδια* are the cups, or bowls, and the *ῥόισκοι* are the knops. Reland calls the latter *mala*, apples; and supposes, that they were intended for the *mala punica*, or pomegranates. From the Greek term used by Josephus and the Seventy we might be led to imagine, that the flowers were meant for lilies; but Reland conjectures them to be the flowers

* Antiq. lib. iii.

of the pomegranate. In the bas-reliefs the three ornaments always join each other, the apple in the middle, and the cup and the flower surrounding the top and bottom of it; so that we may naturally suppose the flower to have belonged to the fruit. Maimonides informs us, that the cups were like Alexandrian cups, narrow at the bottom and broad at the mouth; in short, like modern saucers, and so they appear upon the Arch. The same author says, that the knops were like Cretan apples, in shape like an egg, and broad from each extremity. The flowers he compares to those in the capitals of pillars, or to a dish, the lips of which are bent outwards.

The table represented on the arch does not answer so well to the descriptions, which we have of it. The account is to be found in Exodus xxv. 23, &c. At verse 26, mention is made of rings at the feet for the purpose of carrying it: these are not in the figure. Josephus⁷ says, that the legs were finished exactly, (*τελείως ἀπηρτισμένοι*,) for the lower half; and that the upper half of them was square. This does not appear from the bas-reliefs, but it is possible, that the edges have been rounded off by time. There are two vessels upon the table.

According to the Book of Numbers, x. 2, there were to be two trumpets made of silver, of which a farther description may be seen in Jo-

⁷ Antiq. lib. iii. c. 6.

sephus^a. Two trumpets appear upon the Arch ; and this is all which is worthy of notice, as to the form of the different vessels.

The fate of these spoils, after they were carried in triumph, is rather interesting. We can trace their history down to a late period, but what finally became of them can perhaps never be ascertained. Josephus says^a, that the veil and books of the law were placed in the Palace at Rome, and the candlestick and other spoils were kept in the Temple of Peace. Mention is made of the golden fillet being seen in the time of Adrian. When the Temple of Peace was burnt, in the reign of Commodus, these treasures were not destroyed ; for Anastasius, where he relates that Genseric entered Rome on the third day after the flight of Maximus, and carried off a great deal of treasure to Africa, says, that amongst the spoil were the Hebrew vessels, which Titus had brought to Jerusalem^b. He states farther, that Belisarius, after conquering the Vandals, returned to Constantinople with great treasures, among which were the Jewish vessels which Titus had brought to Rome, and Genseric had carried to Africa. This was in the year 520. Procopius confirms this account^c,

^a Lib. iii. c. 2.

^b De Bello Jud. lib. vii. c. 24.

^b I give this on the authority of Reland, but I have not myself been able to find the passage in Anastasius. Nicephorus mentions it, lib. xv. c. 11.

^c Lib. ii. c. 9.

and adds, that a Jew, who saw them, told an acquaintance of the emperor, that it would not be advisable to carry them to the Palace at Constantinople, as they could not remain any where else but where Solomon had placed them. This he said was the reason why Genseric had taken the Palace at Rome, and the Roman army had in turn taken that of the Vandals. When this was reported to the emperor, he was alarmed, and sent the whole of them immediately to the Christian churches at Jerusalem.

We have mention of some more of the Jewish spoils in another passage of Procopius, where he says, that the Franks carried on the siege of Carcassio with great eagerness, because they understood that the royal treasure was there which Alaric had carried off when he plundered Rome; among which were the treasures of King Solomon, and the spoil taken by the Romans from Jerusalem.

Besides these bas-reliefs, there are others in the frieze, which represent the procession of a sacrifice. Over the Arch there is a hollow chamber, which does not seem to have had any particular use, except to lighten the building. Till the time of Sextus IV. the bas-reliefs were not visible, so much had the soil accumulated, and buried the Arch. That pope ordered it to be excavated; and there is now a clear passage under the Arch at the level of the ancient pavement, if not upon the ancient pavement itself.

I have seen it stated, but cannot vouch for the

truth of the story, that no Jew will pass under this Arch; but that if they want to go that road, they walk by the side of it^d.

ARCH OF SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS,

(In the Forum.)

This Arch stands at the foot of the Capitol, and was at the north-west angle of the ancient Forum. It is of white marble, and consists of one large arch, with a smaller one on each side, with a lateral communication from one to the other. Besides the bas-reliefs on each front, it is ornamented with eight fluted Composite pillars; and it may be observed, that here, as in most ancient buildings, the roses upon the interior of the arch are all different. It appears that formerly there was a chariot on the top: for coins exist, on one side of which is a head of Caracalla, with *ANTONINVS PIVS AVG PONT TR P VII*, and on the other is an arch, with the inscription, *ARCVS AVGG SC*. On the top of the Arch is a car, with two persons in it, drawn by six horses: on each side is a figure on horseback, followed by one on foot. On another coin we have a singular mixture of Greek and Latin in the inscription, which is thus, *ΑΥΤ. Κ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΚΕΥΗ. ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC. ΑΥΓ.* On the reverse there is an arch, and *ARCVS AVGG SC* as before. In

^d The only authority which I recollect at present is Mad. de Staël, in her Novel of Corinne.

one of the sides is a staircase of fifty steps, leading to the top.

The Arch was erected in honour of Septimius Severus and his two sons, Caracalla and Geta, to commemorate two triumphs over the Parthians. According to Baronius it was built A. D. 203, or 205, which was the time of the second triumph. Some antiquaries have raised doubts as to this emperor triumphing at all, or have confused the two together. Spartian makes him refuse the honour, because he could not enter his chariot owing to the gout. But it seems extraordinary, if he could make such a successful campaign, and such a long journey back again to Rome, why his gout should hinder him from being drawn through the streets for a few hours. Even Herodian seems to confound the two triumphs, though he mentions the applause, sacrifices, games, &c. Tertullian* says, that he was in Rome when Severus triumphed over the Parthians; and we know from history that he made two expeditions into the East; the first in 195, when he conquered King Vologeses; the second in 199, when he took Ctesiphon, and the treasures of King Artabanus. The circumstance of his being twice styled PARTHICVS in the inscription, seems to point out two expeditions and two triumphs. The same inscription occurs on each front.

It has been mentioned, that the Arch was erected

* De Habitu Mulieb. c. 7.

to the emperor's two sons, as well as to himself; but it will be observed, that the name of Caracalla alone occurs in the inscription. The fact is, that the name of Geta has evidently been erased, which was done when he was put to death by order of his brother Caracalla. The usual method of affixing these inscriptions was, first, to cut the letters in the stone, and then to fasten in other letters, which were cast in metal. The metallic letters have been carried off from this inscription, as from almost every other; but from this very circumstance we are able to make out the fact, that in the seventh line there were once different words from what now appear. The inscription in this line is now OPTIMIS. FORTISSIMISQ. PRINCIPIBUS: but the marble is depressed along the whole line, which shews, that something had been cut away, and the holes, in which the first metallic letters were fixed, still remain. By tracing these holes, it is conjectured, that the original inscription in this line was ET. P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI. OPT. The naval ornaments denote the means taken by Severus to transport his men down the Euphrates, Tigris, and rivers of Adiabene.

Descriptions of this arch may be found in Winkelmann, and Serlio¹: but the fullest account is by Joseph Maria Suaresius, (Romæ 1676,) from whose work I have extracted a few observations to illustrate the bas-reliefs.

¹ Lib. iii. de Architect.

I will suppose a person to approach the Arch from the Colosseum; and that he first looks at the bas-reliefs on his left hand. These relate to the first expedition of Severus, A.D. 195; in the course of which he routed King Vologeses, took Carrha, and went against the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni. On the top Severus harangues his soldiers; below him the Romans are slaying the Parthians, and at the bottom the city of Carrha is taken. On the right the siege of Nisibis is raised, and Vologeses flies on horseback.

The bas-reliefs on the right relate to the year 196, when Severus was still in the East. At the top of the compartment are represented Severus, and the King of Armenia, who is admitted to his friendship. In the middle, Abgarus, King of the Adiabeni or Osrhoeni, offers the assistance of troops; and at the bottom the Romans apply the battering ram to the capital of the Atreni.

On the other side of the Arch (facing the Capitol) the bas-reliefs on a person's right hand relate to the emperor's second expedition in 199. At the top he is haranguing his men, and sending out commanders. At the bottom he again besieges Atrra, and the inhabitants are holding out their hands to him. In the corner is a machine, called Catarrhacta, for letting out water, which is described by Cæsar^s.

The remaining compartment contains the affairs of the year 201. In the top row the Eu-

^s De Bello Civili, lib. ii.

phrates is crossed, and Ctesiphon taken. In the second two chiefs kneel down before the emperor, which denotes the submission of Arabia. At the bottom, the Tigris is crossed, Seleucia is taken, and Artabanus flies.

The bas-reliefs, which are under these several compartments, represent the treasures and captives led in triumph. The whole series is in an indifferent style of sculpture, and presents but a poor idea of the state of the arts at that time.

This Arch was formerly buried for nearly half its height. Leo X. ordered some excavations under the direction of M. Angelo. They were again undertaken in 1563, but soon filled up again, and the present pope laid it open to the bottom in 1804, at which time the pavement of the ancient Clivus Asyli was discovered.

ARCH OF S. SEVERUS,

(in Foro Boario.)

This stands very near to the Arch of Janus, and one side of it joins on to the ancient Church of S. Georgio in Velabro; so that many of the ornaments cannot now be seen, being buried in the wall of the Church. It is small, and was erected, as the inscription states, by the merchants and bankers of the Forum Boarium, to S. Severus, his wife Julia, and his son Caracalla. The existence of this Arch probably points out where the triumphal processions passed, as we know that they went through this Forum on

their way to the Circus Maximus; and these Arches were generally erected on the line of their march. We may observe here, as in the larger Arch to the same emperor, that the name of Geta has been erased from the inscription. It occurred in the fifth and eighth lines. In the fifth, where we now read FORTISSIMO. FELICISSIMOQVE. PRINCIPI. ET. P. P. PROCOS, we may conjecture, that there was formerly ET. P. SEPTIMIO. GETAE. NOBILISSIMO. CAESARI: and in the eighth, instead of ET. P. SEPTIMI. GETAE. NOBILISSIMI. CAESARIS, there has been substituted PARTHICI. MAXIMI. BRITANNICI. MAXIMI. Independent of the marble bearing marks of the alteration, we may demonstrate, that the latter line must have been a subsequent addition, as Caracalla did not assume the name of PARTHICVS till long after his father's death^b. From the expression TRIB. POT. XII. this Arch seems to have been built in the year following the other, where we read TRIB. POT. XI.

Some bas-reliefs may be observed upon the Arch, and every part of it is loaded with orna-

^b In Belzoni's Travels, p. 106, there is this inscription, taken from a granate quarry in Egypt.

IMP. P. SEVERI. ET
ANTONINI PISSIMORVM. AVGG
ET. GET ISSI

where the letters with a line under them are dotted; by which, I presume, that we are to understand, that they have been partly erased. The governor of Egypt in the days of Caracalla was doubtless too good a courtier, not to follow the example, which the emperor himself had set.

ments in a very rich style. The capitals of the pilasters are Composite. In front is a sacrifice, in which are the figures of Severus and Caracalla: that of Geta has been defaced. Under the archway the same thing may be observed. On the side facing the Arch of Janus is a plough drawn by a bull and a cow, which is known to indicate the founding of a colony, and perhaps alluded to the tradition of Romulus having begun to trace out his infant city from this spot. It is engraved in Grævius, vol. iii. p. 609, and by Desgodetz.

ARCH OF GALLIENUS.

This is a small Arch, and scarcely worth mentioning. The remains of it are not far from S. Maria Maggiore, a little to the right of the road leading to S. Croce. It is of freestone and of indifferent workmanship, without any sculpture or other decoration to attract attention. We learn from the inscription, that it was raised to the Emperor Gallienus and his wife Salonina by M. Aurelius Victor, which would give it the date of about A.D. 260.

GALLIENO. CLEMENTISSIMO. PRINCIPI
CVIVS. INVICTA. VIRTVS
SOLA. PIETATE. SVPERATA. EST
ET. SALONINAE. SANCTISSIMAE. AVG
M. AVRELIVS. VICTOR
DEDICATISSIMVS
NVMINI. MAIESTATIQVE
EORVM

A chain still hangs from the middle of this Arch, to which were suspended the keys of the Porta Salsicchia in Viterbo, which city was taken by the Romans, A.D. 1200.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE.

This stands at the foot of the Palatine hill, very near the Colosseum, and was erected by the senate in honour of Constantine's victory over Maxentius. The battle was fought beyond the Ponte Molle; but as the triumphal procession, after leaving the Circus Maximus, wound round the Palatine hill, and so entered the Forum by the Via Sacra, it passed by the spot where this Arch stands. The inscription alludes to the defeat of the tyrant: but the words *INSTINCTU DIVINITATIS* in the third line are supposed to have been added afterwards; as the marble is there rather sunk in, and the holes for the bronze letters are confused. Besides the inscription, we read on one side of the Arch *VOTIS X* and *VOTIS XX*, on the other side *SIC X* and *SIC XX*. This was meant to express the *Vota decennialia* and *vicenennialia*, or vows for ten and twenty years, which were offered up for the preservation of the emperor and the empire. The origin of this custom we learn from Dio¹; "Augustus, in order to remove from the Romans any suspicion of his looking to the kingly power, took upon him

¹ Lib. liii.

“ the imperial office only for ten years. When
 “ this period had elapsed, another period of five
 “ years ; and when that was finished, still another
 “ of five ; after that a period of ten years, and
 “ still another after that were successively de-
 “ creed to him ; so that by a continuation of such
 “ decrees he held the imperial power for his
 “ whole life. For which reason the later em-
 “ perors also, although the power is conferred
 “ upon them not for any limited time, but for
 “ their whole life, celebrate a festival for its re-
 “ newal every ten years ; and that is the case at
 “ present.” (Dio wrote in the middle of the
 third century.) We frequently find on coins
 vor. x. xx. xxx. xxxx, and on one of Constan-
 tine himself is vor. xx.

The building consists of one large arch, with
 a smaller one on each side ; and is ornamented
 with eight Corinthian pillars of *Giallo antico*,
 with a statue over each. There is a staircase
 leading to the top ; and the compartment, in
 which it is constructed, is thicker than the cor-
 responding one. It may be remarked also, that
 the two smaller arches are not exactly of the
 same width. A great difference will be perceived
 in the workmanship of the bas-reliefs ; which is
 to be explained by this circumstance ; that many
 of them came from an Arch of Trajan, which
 stood in his Forum. That we may be able to
 compare the state of the arts at the two different
 periods, it will be well first to distinguish accu-
 rately what parts belong to each. The eight pil-

lars already mentioned, and the statues over them, came from the Arch of Trajan; so did eighteen of the bas-reliefs; viz. the ten, which are in the attic story, and the eight round medallions. All the rest are of the age of Constantine; and by comparing one set with the other, we may perceive how greatly the arts had deteriorated since the time of Trajan. Indeed no more convincing proof could be given of the degeneracy of the arts in the time of Constantine, than his being obliged to adopt the productions of a former period: unless we suppose, that the hurry was so great to finish the structure in time for the triumph, that they could not wait for any work to be executed on purpose. By thus transferring the ornaments of one arch to the other, we find the victories and actions of Trajan ascribed to Constantine. But this is only a defect, when the story is known; and we have gained this advantage by it, that whereas the Arch of Trajan, and all the other ornaments of his Forum, except the column, are destroyed, these bas-reliefs still exist upon the Arch, to which they were removed. It may also be remarked, that Trajan's buildings deserved to meet with this spoliation more than those of any other emperor, as he was famous for placing his own name upon all public edifices, as if he had been the founder of them; which made the wits of Rome call him *Herba Parietina*, or a weed upon the wall ^k.

^k Ammian. Marcellinus, lib. xxvii. c. 3.

Of the bas-reliefs, the four which are in the attic story on the front facing the Colosseum, represent the triumphal entry of Trajan into Rome; the repair of the Appian way; his measures to supply Italy with provisions; and Partomasires imploring him to restore to him the kingdom of Armenia, which had been taken from his father. On the opposite front, and likewise in the attic story, we find Trajan declaring Partenaspartes king of Parthia; the discovery of a conspiracy formed against him by Decebalus, king of Dacia; his harangue to the soldiers; and the sacrifice, called *Suovetaurilia*, performed by him. On the two sides there are also two bas-reliefs, which are considered the finest of the whole, and appear originally to have formed only one compartment. They represent the victory gained by Trajan over Decebalus. The eight round medallions on the two fronts relate to the sports of the chace, of which we are informed, that Trajan was fond; and to sacrifices offered by him to Mars, Apollo, Diana, &c.

The sculptures contemporary with the arch are very inferior to the former. Those at the bottom relate to the taking of Verona, and the victory over Maxentius. The line of bas-reliefs, which goes all round the arch, contains military processions, and such-like shews, of wretched workmanship. There are two more round medallions, one at each side, which contain chariots drawn by two horses: these are meant for the sun and moon, and are emblematical of the east and

west. The four figures of Fame over the arch, and the victories on the pedestals of the column, will also shew the poor state of the arts in the time of Constantine. Those on the interior sides of the Arch are of the same date, but better workmanship.

It has been already stated, that the eight columns of *Giallo antico* came from the Arch of Trajan. To speak more properly, only seven of the present columns came from thence; for Clement VIII. took one of them away, to form a companion to another, which stands under the organ in the Lateran Basilica, where it may still be seen. The marble now called *Giallo antico*, is one of those varieties, which is only known from the ancient specimens. It seems to resemble that which is mentioned by Pliny, where he is treating of a marble, called *onyx*, or alabastrites¹. He says, that one variety in particular was admired, which was the colour of honey, having wavy spots, and not transparent. The faults in this sort were a horny appearance, and too much white, and a resemblance to glass. It was found in Egypt, India, and other places. Each of the pillars is 40 palms (29½ feet) high, and the other was found in the Forum of Trajan. Clement replaced the column, which he took from this Arch, with one of white marble; but they are all become so black from age, that the difference is scarcely discernible.

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 12.

The statues, which are above the columns, likewise came from Trajan's Arch, and are of the marble called Pavonazzetto. At least seven of them are so; and the eighth being of white marble was placed there by Clement XII. who had heads put to all the statues, the original ones having been carried off by Lorenzino de' Medici, who assassinated the Grand Duke Alexander. The hands were also mutilated. A fragment of the original statue is preserved in the Capitol, with the words AD ARCVN on the base of it. The statues are meant to represent Dacian prisoners.

The soil, which had accumulated round this Arch, was removed by order of the present pope in 1804; and part of the pavement of the Via Triumphalis was then brought to light.

OTHER ARCHES.

The Arch of M. Aurelius existed in the Corso, near the Church of S. Lorenzo in Lucina, till the year 1665, when it was removed by Alexander VII. to make more room in the street. Amongst the ornaments were eight pillars of *Verde antique*, two of which may be seen in the Corsini Chapel, in the Lateran Basilica. Pliny mentions four kinds of marble^m which seem to have resembled what we now call *Verde antique*. Properly speak-

^m Lib. xxxvi. c. 11.

ing they were not marble, but serpentine; and the ancients gave to one of them the name of *Ophites*, from the veins in it resembling the spots of a serpent. He tells us that there was a Lacedæmonian marble, of a very valuable sort: it was green, and more lively (*hilarius*) than any other. Other sorts were afterwards found in Egypt, during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, and were called after those emperors. They both differed from *Ophites*; for that resembled the spots of a serpent, and had its name from that circumstance; but the others were spotted in a different manner: Augustus had wavy curls coming to a point; Tiberius had distinct spots of green and white not intermixed. (*Augustum undatim crispum in vertices, Tiberium sparsum non convoluta canitie.*) Besides which there were no blocks of *Ophites* to make columns from, except very small ones. The specimens in Rome must therefore have come from Egypt. Indeed it appears from the same chapter, that the *Ophites* also came from near Memphis in Egypt; at least one variety of it did, which, from being of an ash colour, was called *Tephrias*. The softest kind of *Ophites* had more white in it; the hard had more of black.

There were four bas-reliefs upon the Arch of M. Aurelius, two of which are in the Capitol, one in the Orsini Palace; and where the fourth is not known. It is asserted in Spence's *Anecdotes*^a, that there are six compartments in the

^a P. 92.

Capitol which came from this Arch : 1, M. Aurelius pardoning the vanquished in his triumphal car ; 2, sacrificing ; 3, receiving a globe from the Genius of Rome ; 4, L. Verus haranguing ; 5, Faustina ascending to heaven ; 6°.

This Arch obtained the name of Arco di Tripoli, and di Portogallo. Some have thought that it was erected in honour of Domitian ; but as Suetonius tells us that every memorial of this emperor was destroyed by order of the senate, and as Dio^p expressly includes the triumphal Arches, it has been argued, that the name of Domitian cannot be rightly applied to this Arch. Accordingly some have given it to Drusus, stepson of Augustus ; others to Antoninus and Faustina. But as drawings taken of it while it existed represent the upper part, in which the inscription was, as entirely gone, it is possible that tradition had rightly preserved the name of Domitian, and that the Senate, content with destroying the inscription which recorded his name, suffered the Arch itself to remain.

We have notice also of other Arches which existed formerly. That of Trajan has been already mentioned, which must have been nearly, if not entirely, destroyed in the time of Constantine. The Arch of Fabius, who defeated the Allobroges, stood in the Forum, opposite to that of S. Severus : the Via Sacra passed under it.

* Spence only names five compartments : perhaps one of the subjects was extended through two of them.

^p Lib. lxxviii.

At the opposite angle to this stood the Arch of Tiberius. Besides the Arch of M. Aurelius, there was another in the Corso, that of Gordian, which was taken down by order of Innocent VIII. when he repaired the Church of S. Maria in Via Lata. L. Fauno tells us, that there was written upon this, as upon the Arch of Constantine, *votis x* and *xx*. It appears from Poggio's book, on the Mutability of Fortune, that several Arches were existing in his time, that is, in the fourteenth century, which have subsequently disappeared. He mentions one which had the name of Augustus upon it, between the Palatine hill and the Tiber: another to Trajan, with an inscription, near the Comitia; and a third to Constantine, in the Circus Maximus. Perhaps what he says of the remains of the Temple of Concord, and of the Colosseum, may explain the disappearance of these Arches, that the materials of them were taken away to burn for lime.

OBELISKS.

Few monuments, which the ingenuity or pride of man have produced, have existed so long as the Egyptian Obelisks in Rome. We are accustomed to regret, in exploring this city, that there are so few remains of the Republic; but these Obelisks carry us back to a period far more remote, to the age of Sesostris and Sothis, upwards of a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Whether we consider the art which

shaped and raised such enormous blocks from the quarry, or the still more laborious exertions, which transported them to Rome, our astonishment must certainly be raised, and our curiosity excited to learn their history. What is the evidence of this history, we cannot now pretend to know very accurately : we learn much from the evidence of Pliny, who must have taken his statements from the best authorities, not long after the Obelisks themselves were removed, and when public curiosity must have been raised concerning them. He tells us¹, that the Kings of Egypt cut these immense blocks in emulation of each other, out of a quarry at Syene in the Thebaid. The stone was called from the place *Syenite* ; from its colour, *Pyrrhopæcilon*, or spotted red. They were dedicated to the Sun, as was expressed in their Egyptian name. Mitres [or Mestres, who according to Kircher is the same as Misraim] was the first King who erected them ; and Sothis² one of his successors had four cut, which were forty-eight cubits long. So far Pliny. An expression in Ammianus might excite our astonishment still more, where he says of the Obelisks³, that they were cut out of quarries which were searched for in the very extremity of the earth. But the accuracy of this writer is not sufficient to persuade us, that

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

² Kircher makes Ammenephtes, or Memphis, the father of Sothis, or Sochis, to have lived 1366 A. C. two hundred years after the passage of the Red Sea.

³ Lib. xvii. c. 4.

the Egyptian kings went farther than their own kingdom, when they had such fine quarries, as those of Syene: or he may have intended the southern inhabitants of Egypt itself, or more properly of Ethiopia, who with respect to Rome were the inhabitants of the extremity of the earth.

We may perhaps be allowed to be as credulous upon the antiquity of Egyptian works, as upon any other. The date of the Pyramids may not exactly be known, but few deny them to be coeval with the early kings of Egypt. The same antiquity is claimed for these Obelisks, and apparently with as good reason. Some indeed have supposed the Obelisks to be much the oldest^t. Diodorus tells us, that some antiquaries made them to be more than three thousand four hundred years older than the time of Augustus; but he gives it as his own opinion that they were erected about one thousand years before his own time, that is, two hundred and forty-six years before the foundation of Rome, or one thousand years before Christ. After the Persian conquest it would be difficult to assign any period when that unfortunate country was likely to produce such works. Indeed we know for certain, that some of the Obelisks existed before the Persian conquest. For when Cambyses took Thebes, and set fire to it, he ordered the flames to be extinguished as soon as they approached the

^t Vid. Bargæi Comment. de Obelisco; Grævii Thes. vol. iv. p. 1911.

foundation of an Obelisk; so much was he struck with the magnificence of the work. Strabo also^u mentions the existence of some Obelisks in Heliopolis, which still bore marks of the fire in the time of Cambyzes.

If the hieroglyphics, which are still perfect upon them, could be deciphered, we should perhaps find more certain information. An attempt to interpret the characters upon one of them was made by Father Kircher; and it has been observed of his Dissertation, that though there is scarcely any thing certain in it, it is one of the greatest efforts of human imagination^x. But at the time of their removal to Rome, these characters were legible; for Pliny, speaking of those in the Circus Maximus and Campus Martius^y, says, that both contain an explanation of natural history according to the Egyptian philosophy: and of one, which was erected by Mitres in Heliopolis, he tells us^z, "that he put it up in consequence of a dream; and this was mentioned in the inscription upon it; for those sculptures and figures are the letters of the Egyptians." Diodorus also seems to have known the meaning of the figures inscribed on the Obelisk of Sesostris. If any of these inscriptions contained the history of the erection of the Obelisks, the authority of Pliny cannot be called in question.

^u Lib. xvii.

^x Ramsay, in Spence's Anecdotes, p. 43.

^y Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

^z Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

Augustus was the first who conceived the idea of transporting these immense blocks to Rome: he was imitated by Caligula, Constantine, and others, and they were generally erected in some Circus. They have all subsequently been removed, and placed in conspicuous parts of the city by different popes. Kircher reckons twelve in all.

The loftiest is that in front of St. John Lateran. It is 148 palms (109 feet) high^a, without the base and pedestal; and 14 palms (11 feet) broad at the bottom. It is of one solid piece of red granite, and covered with hieroglyphics. Ramises, King of Egypt, erected it in Thebes; and Pliny says^b that he lived at the taking of Troy, which would give it an antiquity of three thousand years. Kircher makes Ramises to have flourished A. C. 1297. Ammianus writes the name Rhamestes; Tacitus^c, Rhamses; Diodorus^d, Remphis; Josephus, Ramphes; Herodotus^e, Rhampsinitus; Eusebius, Ramises. After stating that Sothis had four Obelisks made, each forty-eight cubits high, Pliny tells us, that Ramises [his son] made four others, which were forty cubits. These were erected in On, or Heliopolis. Afterwards Ramises placed another in Mnevis, which was ninety-nine feet high and four cubits wide. In cutting this last, 120000 men were employed. The Obelisk in front of St.

^a Kircher.^b Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.^c An. lib. ii. c. 60.^d Lib. i.^e Lib. ii. c. 121.

John Lateran may have been one of these; but it was not removed in Pliny's time. Augustus did not think it right to remove it, because it was dedicated in a more special manner than the rest to the Sun. In the year 357, Constantius undertook what Augustus had declined. The flatterers of the emperor told him, that Augustus had been deterred by the difficulty of the undertaking. This was enough to excite his vanity; and he got over the religious scruples, by the idea, that though he removed the Obelisk from one temple, he should erect it in Rome, which was the temple of the whole world. He had it conveyed down the Nile from Thebes, and at Alexandria it was placed on board a vessel of three hundred oars. Considerable time was spent in the preparation, and Constantius died before the Obelisk left Alexandria, A. D. 361. It however completed the voyage, and was rowed up the Tiber within three miles of Rome; from whence it was carried by land to the Circus Maximus. This account is taken from Ammianus^f; and his description of the means used to raise it in the Circus Maximus is curious. “Sola
“ post hæc restabat erectio, quæ vix, aut ne vix
“ quidem sperabatur posse compleri, erectisque
“ usque ad periculum altis trabibus, ut machina-
“ rum cerneret nemo; innectuntur vasti funes
“ et longi, ad speciem multiplicium liciorum cœ-
“ lum densitate nimia subtexentes, quibus colli-

^f Lib. xvii. c. 4.

“ gatis mons ipse effigiatus scriptilibus elementis
 “ paulatimque id per arduum inane protentus,
 “ diuque pensilis hominum millibus multis tan-
 “ quam molendinarias rotantibus metas, cavea
 “ locatur in media, eique sphæra superponitur
 “ athena aureis laminis nitens, qua confestim vi
 “ ignis divini contacta, ideoque sublata, facis
 “ imitamentum infigitur æreum, itidem auro im-
 “ bracteatum, velut abundanti flamma canden-
 “ tis.”

Cassiodorus tells us¹, that the hieroglyphics upon it, which he calls Chaldaic signs, denoted the religion of the ancients, “*sacra priscorum Chaldaicis signis quasi literis indicari.*” Ammianus gives us the interpretation of part of these characters, as explained by Hermapion, in Greek. He only, however, gives those which were on the south, and part of those on the east side. Three perpendicular rows of hieroglyphics may be observed on each side of the Obelisk; and the explanation given by Hermapion describes three separate rows; from which we may infer, that they were read perpendicularly. Kircher endeavours to prove that Hermapion knew nothing about hieroglyphics, and that his interpretation is entirely wrong. But the learned father has himself committed a great error. He considers Hermapion's explanation to refer to the Obelisk removed by Augustus, whereas it is evident from Ammianus, that we are to apply it to that which was removed by Constantius.

¹ Lib. iii.

When Sextus V. had it transported to its present situation in 1588, it was broken into three pieces, and lay twenty-four palms under ground. Fontana was the engineer who raised it.

That which now stands in the Piazza di Monte Citorio, was erected in Heliopolis by Sesostris, who, according to some chronologists, flourished 1157 years A.C.^b Augustus brought it to Rome, and placed it in the Campus Martius. The ship which conveyed it from Egypt was preserved at Puteoli as an astonishing work, and was afterwards destroyed by fire. An account of the Obelisk is to be found in Plinyⁱ. “*Ei, qui est*
“ in campo, D. Augustus addidit mirabilem usum
“ adprehendendas solis umbras, dierumque ac
“ noctium magnitudines, strato lapide ad Obelisci
“ magnitudinem, cui par fieret umbra, brumæ
“ confectæ die, sexta hora, paulatimque per re-
“ gulas, (quæ sunt ex ære inclusæ) singulis die-
“ bus decresceret, ac rursus augesceret. Manlius
“ mathematicus apici auratam pilam addidit,
“ cujus vertice umbra colligeretur in se ipsa.” From this passage it appears, that the Obelisk was applied to an astronomical purpose: but some have supposed the words to mean, that it served for a gnomon, or meridian-line; while others have interpreted it to mean a solar

^b Bryant (vol. ii. p. 382.) says of Sesostris, “*What credit*
“ can be given to the history of a man, the time of whose life
“ cannot be ascertained within 1535 years? For so great is the
“ difference of the extremes in the numbers before given.”

ⁱ Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

clock, or sun-dial. Angelo Maria Bandini published upon this subject in 1750, asserting it to have been a gnomon. Antongiuseppe della Torre di Rezzonico, in his Dissertation upon Pliny, argues, that it was certainly a sun-dial^a. The former opinion seems to be most generally adopted, and indeed Pliny expressly calls it a gnomon. Another dispute has arisen from different copies of Pliny, whether the name of the astronomer employed by Augustus was Manlius, Manilius, or Facundinus. Another pillar of red granite, found near here, (which was raised by M. Aurelius and L. Verus to Antoninus Pius,) was employed to repair the Obelisk, so that a great part of it is now destitute of hieroglyphics.

The Obelisk itself was dug up in 1748, under the direction of Niccolo Zabaglia, but it was not erected in its present situation till 1792, by Pius VI. A considerable quantity of brass was found not far from hence, which is supposed to have been connected with the above-mentioned meridian. A. Fulvio mentions a dial being dug up near to S. Lorenzo in Lucina, with seven lines upon it, of bronze gilt: the ground was paved with square stones, and at the corners were the names of the winds. The whole height of the Obelisk is according to Kircher 100 palms (73 feet 4 inches). Pliny calls itⁱ 116 Roman

^a Vide Tiraboschi, part 3. lib. iii. p. 312. ⁱ Lib. xxxvi. c. 9.

feet. He also says^k, that the characters upon it contained an explanation of natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. On the top is a globe of bronze.

Diodorus tells us, that Sesostris erected two, each 120 cubits high, on which he described the extent of his empire, his revenue, and the nations which he had conquered. Thus there is a difference of 112 palms between the accounts of Pliny and Diodorus; and as Kircher found this Obelisk to measure only 100 palms, whereas Pliny states it at 116 feet, he conceives this last author to have confounded the names of Sesostris and Sothis; and that the Obelisk placed in the Campus Martius by Augustus was raised originally by Sothis.

Another stands in the middle of the area in front of St. Peter's, and its situation perhaps gives it an advantage over all the rest. It is not inscribed with hieroglyphics. Its first position in Rome was not far from its present one, it having stood in the Circus of Caligula, (afterwards called the Circus of Nero,) close to the Basilica. Its actual position was in the passage now leading from the sacristy to the choir, and is marked by a square stone. Its having been found in this Circus identifies it with the Obelisk which Pliny speaks of^l, from whence we learn, that it was

^k Lib. xxxvi. c. 8.

^l Lib. xxxv. c. 15.

erected in Heliopolis, by Nuncoreus^m, son of Sesostris, being the only one of the Obelisks which was broken. “Tertius Obeliscus Romæ in Vaticano Caii et Neronis Principum Circo, ex omnibus unus omnino fractus est in molatione”; quem fecerat Sesostridis filius Nuncoreus.”

Another passage of Pliny proves this to be one of the two Obelisks, which Herodotus mentions to have been erected by Phero, son of Sesostris, when he recovered from his blindness, which were one hundred cubits high and eight wide. For Pliny adds, “ejusdem remanet et alius centum cubitorum, quem post cæcitatem visu reddito ex oraculo Soli sacravit.” Herodotus and Pliny differ as to the name of the son of Sesostris, but they evidently mean the same Obelisk. Diodorus tells the same story as Herodotus. It is true, that Herodotus makes both the Obelisks to have been one hundred cubits high, whereas Pliny says, that the first was only forty-eight; but as the latter author tells us, that it was broken in being erected, this may account for the difference. Eusebius and Diodorus make Phero to have reigned 331 years after the taking

^m Kircher calls this king Momphercur, and makes him to have flourished A. C. 1102.

ⁿ Some would read *factus est in imitatione ejus*: but Kircher prefers the former, and thinks, that there is evidence of this having been broken; because the proportion of the height to the diameter at the base is not the same as in the others, i. e. of ten to one.

of Troy. According to Aristotle, he lived long before. This king, whether his name were Nuncoreus or Phero, when the Obelisk was being erected, fastened his own son to the top of it, that the engineers might be more careful in raising it.

Caligula transported it to Rome, and dedicated it to Augustus and Tiberius. Pliny relates some curious particulars of its being conveyed to Rome°. “A fir-tree of prodigious size was
“used in the vessel, which by the command of
“Caligula brought the Obelisk from Egypt which
“stands in the Vatican Circus, and four blocks
“of the same sort of stone to support it. No-
“thing certainly ever appeared on the sea more
“astonishing than this vessel: 120000 bushels of
“lentiles served for its ballast: the length of it
“nearly equalled all the left side of the Port of
“Ostia; for it was sunk there by the emperor
“Claudius. The thickness of the tree was as
“much as four men could embrace with their
“arms.” Suetonius also tells us^p, that this emperor
“built the harbour at Ostia, by throwing
“out an arm on the right and left, and by closing
“up the entrance with a pier at a great
“depth. In order to make the foundations of
“this pier stronger, he first sank the ship, in
“which the great Obelisk had been brought
“from Egypt: and after driving in piles, he
“erected upon them a very lofty tower, in imi-

° Lib. xvi. c. 76.

^p In Claud. c. 20.

“ tation of the Alexandrian Pharos, that ships
 “ might steer their course by fires to be burnt
 “ there at night.”

Sextus V. had it removed to its present place in 1586, under the direction of the celebrated architect Fontana, at an expence of 40000 *scudi*, about £9000. The operation has been described by Fontana himself in a work written upon the occasion, with engravings of the machinery ; and subsequently by his relation Carlo Fontana, who added more plates in a work published in 1694. Previous to this removal it was still standing upright, and not thrown down, as the biographer of Sextus V. (Platina) states it to have been by Totila. The soil had considerably accumulated round the base, so that the inscription was covered, which is now legible :

DIVO CAES. DIVI IVLII F. AVGVSTO TI. CAES.
 DIVI AVG. F. SACRVM

Fontana conjectured, that the Obelisk weighed 993537 pounds. Forty-six cranes, 600 men, and 140 horses were employed in removing it. Amongst other rewards bestowed upon the architect for his successful labours, Sextus gave him all the timber, ropes, iron, &c. employed in the work, which were valued at 20000 crowns.

So great was the interest excited by this undertaking, and so much importance was attached by the pope to the solemnity of its execution, that during the elevation of the Obelisk, it was

ordered, that no person should speak, under pain of death. One of the Bresca family of the ancient Republic of S. Remo being present at the time, and seeing the ropes on the point of breaking from the great friction, violated the order for silence by calling for water. The pope, instead of inflicting the sentence upon him, asked him to name his reward. He selected the privilege of supplying palms for the Papal Chapel on Palm-Sunday: a privilege, which is still claimed by the Bresca family. A painting of the operation of the removal is now in the Vatican Library, in which the seizing of this man by the guards is represented⁹.

It has been found, that this Obelisk does not actually stand where the architect intended it. For if a line be drawn from the centre of the Dome of S. Peter's through the middle door, it will not cut the Obelisk, but will pass about eleven feet to the south of it. The error is ascribed by some to Fontana himself; by others, to Maderno, the architect employed by Paul V. who did not join on the new building in a right line with that, which had been erected before by Michael Angelo. The Obelisk is of red granite. Fontana makes the whole height 180 palms (132 feet), which includes the pedestal and all the ornaments at the top. Without these it is 113 palms (84 feet). It now serves as the gno-

⁹ Vide Angiolo Rocca, de Biblioth. Vat. 250. Taja, Descript. del Palazzo Vat. 440.

mon to a meridian. There is a tradition, that the ashes of J. Cæsar were in a gilt ball at the top of it. But Fontana says in his work, that this is certainly a mistake. There was such a ball, but nothing of any kind was found within it.

The Obelisk in the Piazza del Popolo is 108 palms (80 feet) high with the pedestal. It was brought to this spot from the Circus Maximus in 1589 by Sextus V. who had already moved another from the same Circus, and one from the Circus of Nero. This must be the one, which Pliny^r tells us was erected in the Circus Maximus by Augustus; for the other was not brought to Rome till the time of Constantius. From the words TRIB. POT. XIV in the inscription we may collect, that it was erected U. C. 753. But though the inscription also says,

AEGVPTO. IN. POTESTATEM
POPULI. ROMANI. REDACTA

we must not suppose that the erection of the Obelisk immediately followed the conquest of Egypt. For this event happened in the sixth Consulate of Augustus, nineteen years before, as we may collect from a coin published by F. Ursinus, containing on one side IMP. CAESAR. DIVI. F. COS. VI; and on the other AEGVPTO. CAPTA.

^r Lib. xxxvi. c. 14.

Pliny states, that it was cut by King Semnesertes, and was 125½ feet high without the base*. This Semnesertes is supposed to be the same with Psammis; and Kircher thinks the name should be written Psammirteus, whom he makes to have flourished A. C. 807. It is singular, that in one of the chambers lately opened by Belzoni, which is supposed to have been connected with the tomb of Psammis, there is a figure of that king, with a square tablet suspended from his breast, on which is an Obelisk. Pliny also tells us, that the characters on it related to natural history, according to the Egyptian philosophy. It is of red granite like the rest, and a cross has been erected on the top of it†.

In front of the Trinita de' Monti stands another, which was brought from the gardens of Sallust. The removal of it must have been a work of great labour, when we consider the height of its present situation. It had been before carried to the Lateran, by order of Clement XII. and was placed where it now stands by Pius VI. in 1789. It is 65 palms (48 feet) high without the pedestal.

In the great fountain of Bernini in the Piazza Navona, is one 74 palms (54 feet) high, which stands upon a rock, itself 60 palms (40 feet.) It

* P. Victor says, that it measured 88½ feet.

† A Dissertation has been written upon the Dedication on this Obelisk, by Joseph Castalio, and inserted in Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1859, accompanied with an engraving.

was transported to this place from the Circus of Caracalla, about the year 1650. This is the Obelisk, about which Kircher has written his long and learned Dissertation, divided into five books, and extending through 560 pages. It was published at Rome in 1650, and he gives to the Obelisk the title of Pamphylius, from Innocent X. who was of the Pamfili family, and who had it transported to its present place. He conceives it to be one of the four, which Pliny tells us, as already quoted, were erected by King Sothis in Heliopolis, each of which was 48 cubits high. He makes Caracalla to have transported it from Egypt in 249: but this must be mere conjecture; as it is not known for certain whether Caracalla was the builder of the Circus in which the Obelisk stood. When Bernini removed it in 1649, at the order of Innocent X. it was broken into five parts, and lying on the ground.

In the square on the top of the Monte Cavallo is one 66 palms (48 feet) high, without the pedestal. Pius VI. placed it here, it having formerly stood near to the Mausoleum of Augustus.

That which stands in front of S. Maria Maggiore, came from the same place. They were both made in the reign of Smarres and Eraphius^a, kings of Egypt, who lived A. C. 1028; and carried to Rome in 57 by the Emperor Claudius. Sextus V. erected this in its present situation in

^a This name is also written Vaphrius and Apries.

1587. It is the same height as the last. They are both mentioned by P. Victor, who says, that there were two Obelisks on the Mausoleum of Augustus, which were each $42\frac{1}{2}$ feet high. Pliny also mentions them^{*}, and calls them 48 cubits in height. They are without hieroglyphics.

It is scarcely necessary to mention the little Obelisk in front of S. Maria sopra Minerva. It stands upon the back of an elephant, but is only a few feet in height. This, like the rest, is covered with hieroglyphics. It was found in the garden belonging to the convent, 15 palms underground. The elephant was made by Bernini.

This account may be concluded with the catalogue of the Obelisks furnished by P. Victor. "Obelisci magni sex. Duo in Circo Maximo: "major pedum 132, minor pedum $88\frac{1}{2}$. Unus in "Vaticano, pedum 72. Duo in Mausoleo Augusti pares, singuli pedum $42\frac{1}{2}$; Obelisci parvi "42: in plerisque sunt notæ Egyptiorum."

TOMBS.

In all the ancient towns of Italy, the place appointed for tombs was generally by the side of roads; and though they were not allowed to be constructed within the city, there was no restriction as to their approaching close to it. Accordingly we find, that most of the roads leading out of ancient towns are lined with tombs:

^{*} Lib. xxxv. c. 14.

and if such a spectacle can ever be said to form a pleasing view, we have an instance of it at Pompeii, where the street of the tombs is one of the most interesting objects in that extraordinary place. Near to Pozzuoli (Puteoli) on the Via Campana we have an instance of the frequency of tombs on the roads near to cities. Going from Rome also through any of the gates at the east of the town, we find ruins of similar edifices. The rich went to a considerable expence in ornamenting their sepulchres; and monuments were frequently to be seen by the road-side, which displayed the greatest taste and variety of sculpture.

The custom of raising a *tumulus* or monument over the graves of the dead was more generally practised by the Romans than the Greeks. The former also invariably added the name of the deceased, which the Greeks did not always do in their more simple method. In Greece, where the bodies were always burned, the ashes were put into an urn, and little trouble was requisite to commit it to the ground. Recesses were frequently cut in a rock, (not unlike the catacombs beneath the Church of S. Sebastian;) and in some Grecian towns, such as Syracuse and Agrigentum, we find a succession of these recesses, one above the other, to a considerable number. The urns were deposited in them, and they were closed up. But in Rome, the custom of burning was not of primitive institution. Dead bodies were generally laid in the earth: though there is

evidence, that the funeral pile was not unknown even in the reign of Numa^y. War, and the multitude of deaths caused by it, gradually made the system of burning more general. Still many families adhered to the ancient mode; and in the Cornelian family, the custom of burning was first introduced by Sylla, who, fearing that his body might be ill-treated after his death, left directions that it should be committed to the flames. After his time the funeral pile was only partially used, many still adhering to the ancient manner of laying out the dead body at full length in a hollow tomb.

In those sepulchres which have been opened, the skeleton is always found regularly disposed, with the arms straight by the sides: a vase with a narrow neck was placed upon the breast; another by each side of the head, one at the extremity of each hand, and one between the legs, making six in all. That which was laid upon the breast, is generally found to have fallen off, as the body decayed. There is also always a dish containing eatables, such as eggs, bread, birds, &c. and a coin is found in the mouth to discharge the demand of Charon. All these particulars might have been collected in ancient authors; but in the Royal Museum at Naples, the actual reliques may be seen, and the different modes of interment, as pursued by the Greeks and Romans, is well illustrated by models.

^y Vide Plin. lib. xiv. c. 14. Plutarch. in Numa.

Some skeletons have been found with a cuirass on, and other armour by their side.

Both nations however agreed in prohibiting burial within the walls. Cicero² quotes a law of the Twelve Tables to this effect, *Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne sepelito neve urito*. As to the exceptions to this law, he supposes that they were made in favour of families, who had merited it by some distinguished conduct. Publicola and Tubertus^a (he says) had this honour, and their descendants still claimed it. Others, as C. Fabricius, had special leave given them, after the law was made, and his family had the privilege of burying in the Forum. They however only exercised it so far, as to shew their right; and after carrying the body into the Forum, and applying a torch to it, they carried it out of the walls. The latter fact we learn from Plutarch^b, who states it as a general rule, that all who had triumphed might be buried within the city. The emperors and vestals, as persons who were not bound by the laws, might be buried within the city: and the vestals who had violated their

² De Leg. lib. ii. c. 23.

^a I cannot make out satisfactorily who this Tubertus was. Ernesti in his Index says, that he was P. Tubertus, of the Postumian family, who was consul, first, with Valerius Publicola, U. C. 249, and secondly with Menenius Agrippa, U. C. 251. Livy does not add the surname of Tubertus; but he mentions A. Post. Tubertus, as being dictator U. C. 324, and calls him *severisissimi imperii virum*. This is the only place in which the name of Tubertus is mentioned by Livy.

^b Probl. Rom. Quæst. 79.

chastity, were buried alive in the *Campus Scele-ratus*, which was also within the walls. A spot is pointed out as the scene of this barbarous punishment in the gardens of Sallust, but probably with little foundation.

The ashes of Trajan were deposited in some part of his column, and Eutropius says, that he was the only emperor buried within the walls.

A tomb also exists at the foot of the Capitoline hill, to the memory of C. Publicius Bibulus. The inscription states, that it was given by the senate; but for what particular merit of Bibulus the ancient law was violated in his favour, history does not inform us. Piranesi indeed asserts, that before Trajan extended the circuit of the walls in this quarter, to take in his own Forum, the tomb of Bibulus was not within the city. But this is not the general opinion. The inscription is as follows :

C. PUBLICIO. L. F. BIBVLO. AED. PL. HONORIS
VIRTVTISQVE. CAVSSA. SENATVS
CONSVLTO. POPVLIQVE. IVSSV. LOCVS
MONVMENTO. QVO. IPSE. POSTERIQVE
EIVS. INFERRENTVR. PVBLICE. DATVS. EST

We have no means of ascertaining the time at which he lived, except from his being called Plebeian ædile on the inscription. But unfortunately in the Capitoline marbles the names of those officers cease to be given from the year 611 U. C. to the end, with but few exceptions. Up

to that period, the two plebeian ædiles are always named, and he is not found amongst them ; so that the monument cannot be older than 611. We find L. Pobl. Bibulus, as one of the tribunes of the people in 535, who may have been the father of the man in question. In 539, C. Pobl. Bibulus was provincial quæstor : in 540 he was pro-quæstor : and in 541 he was tribune of the people. This can hardly be the man to whom the tomb was given, although the *prænomen* agrees, because in the first place his other titles would have been mentioned in the inscription : secondly, he would have been ædile before he was tribune of the people, and then we should have found his name in the *Fasti* : thirdly, as we know that he was not ædile before 611, he must have been at least 90, if he entered upon the office afterwards. It is probable, however, that both these persons were of the same family, as the *nomen* of each agrees with those mentioned on the tomb. The latter was most likely son of the former ; and as the sons generally took the *prænomen* of their grandfathers, not of their fathers, the person buried in this place was probably grandson of the C. Pobl. Bibulus who was tribune in 541. This would fix the date of the monument somewhere about 630 ; or perhaps it should be earlier, because as no other title is mentioned in the inscription, he probably died young. The ædiles had the superintendence of public buildings, such as temples, theatres, walls : the games, markets, tribu-

nals of justice, matters of religion, and works intended for publication, were under their inspection.

The remains of this building are very inconsiderable, and much must be concealed underground. A house is now built over it, and a kind of well of some depth may be seen within.

Suetonius informs us^c, that the Claudian family had a burial-place allowed them under the Capitoline hill : and Piranesi gives a description of some remains of it not far from this tomb of Bibulus. Many ancient tombs may now be observed within the walls : but they were constructed before the extension of the limits by Aurelian ; and at the time of their being erected, were out of the city. Of these the most conspicuous are the mausoleums of Augustus and Adrian, the pyramid of C. Cestius, and the tomb of the Scipio family.

The most ancient of all these is the tomb of the Scipios, which was not discovered till 1780 : previous to which time other tombs had had this title bestowed upon them. No doubt however any longer remains, as a multitude of inscriptions has been found to the Scipio family, and some Sarcophagi, which carry us back as far as the year of Rome 456. The tomb is in a garden, not far from the gate of S. Sebastian, to the left of the Appian road. Scarcely any thing is left in it at present, the inscriptions and monuments

^c Tiberius, c. 1.

having been carried to the Vatican, and copies substituted in their room: consequently little now remains to be seen but a series of damp dark chambers by the help of a candle. There are niches in the walls, where the tombs were placed. The whole is cut out of Tufa, a soft porous stone, which extends over great part of this country. The most interesting monument is the Sarcophagus of L. Scipio Barbatus, great-grandfather of Scipio Africanus, which will be described when we come to the Vatican.

No monument has been found to Scipio Africanus himself, which confirms the idea always entertained, that he ended his days at Liternum, and was buried there. Livy^d speaks of it being doubtful in his days in what precise year he died, and whether he was buried at Liternum or Rome. He retired to Liternum in 565 U. C. and lived there, as Livy says, without longing for the city. Some accounts said that he died there, and ordered a monument to be erected on the spot, lest his funeral should be celebrated in his ungrateful country^e. Valerius Maximus confirms this^f, and gives the inscription upon his tomb, *Ingrata Patria, ne ossa quidem mea habes*. Monuments were shewn both at Liternum^g and

^d Lib. xxxviii. c. 52.

^e Ibid. c. 53.

^f Lib. v. c. 3.

^g The place where Liternum stood goes now by the name of *Patria*, from the fragment of an inscription found there

TA PATRIA NEC.

at Rome, claiming to be his. Livy mentions one, from which a statue was blown down in his time^h. Pliny also saysⁱ, that there was a myrtle of great size at Liternum, under which was a cave; and stories said that a dragon guarded the remains of Scipio Africanus. The weight of evidence is certainly in favour of his being buried at Liternum: so that we cannot pay much attention to the assertion of Acron, in his commentary upon Horace^k, that in consequence of an oracle ordering the tomb of Scipio to be so placed, that it looked towards Africa, his remains were taken from the pyramid in the Vatican, and buried in a place between the town of Ostia and the port. The pyramid which obtained this title was not far from the Mole of Adrian, and continued in existence till the time of Alexander VI. who had it removed to improve the approach to the castle.

Livy adds, that there were three statues within the tomb, which were said to be those of P. and L. Scipio, and the poet Ennius. A close friendship had existed between the great Scipio and the poet Ennius: but neither this passage of Livy, nor another of Cicero^l, warrant the assertion, which has been made by some, that his remains were deposited in the tomb of the Scipios. Valerius Maximus^m and Plinyⁿ repeat what Livy has said, without expressing any doubt of the

^h Lib. xxxviii. c. 56.

ⁱ Lib. xvi. c. 44.

^k Epod. ix. 26.

^l Pro Archia Poeta, ix.

^m Lib. viii. c. 14, 1.

ⁿ Lib. vii. c. 30.

statue being that of Ennius. A bust, crowned with laurel, has been thought to be that of the poet; but Livy expressly says, that it was a statue; and it is most probable that the upper story, of which scarcely any remains now exist, contained the three statues in question.

In the year 1615 a stone was dug up near the Porta Capena, which relates to L. Scipio, son of Sc. Barbatus, and which probably came from the tomb. An explanation of it may be found in the Collection of Grævius, vol. iv. p. 1835: and as the epitaph of Sc. Barbatus will be given at length when we treat of the Vatican, this also may be inserted as a specimen of the Latin language in the age immediately following.

° HONC. OINO. PLOIRVME. CONSENTIONT. R
DVONORO. OPTVMO. FVISE. VIRO
LVCION. SCIPIONE. FILIOS. BARBATI
CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. HIC. FVET. A
HEC. CEPIT. CORSICA. ALERIAQVE. VRBE
DEDET. TEMPESTATEBVS. AIDE. MERITO

Which, according to the Augustan orthography, would be,

HVNC VNVM PLVRIMI CONSENTIVNT ROMÆ
BONORVM OPTIMVM FVISSE VIRVM

° Cicero seems to have had this inscription in mind, when he says of Calatinus, that there was written on his tomb, *Plurimæ consentiunt Gentes, Populi Primarium fuisse virum.* (De Senectute xvii.)

LVCIVM SCIPIONEM. FILIVS BARBATI
 CONSVL CENSOR ÆDILIS HIC FVIT.
 HIC CEPIT CORSICAM ALERIAMQVE VRBEM
 DEDIT TEMPESTATIBVS ÆDEM MERITO.

The victory in Corsica here mentioned happened U. C. 494, when this Scipio was consul. The Fasti Capitolini call him son of Lucius Scipio; and Livy gives to Barbatus the prænomen of Publius: but the inscription must be believed in preference to the Fasti, or the existing copies of Livy. The mention of a temple built to the winds illustrates a distich in Ovid:

Te quoque, Tempestas, meritam delubra fatemur,
 Cum pœne est Corsis obruta classis aquis.

The commentators upon Ovid, not being aware of this epitaph, have referred the building of the temple to Claudius Nero, who was consul U. C. 551, to Marcellus, and to Metellus.

PYRAMID OF CAIUS CESTIUS^p.

The tomb of C. Cestius is the only specimen of a pyramid existing in Rome. It stands close to the Porta S. Paolo, partly within the walls and partly without, Aurelian having drawn the new line of his walls exactly across it, and left it

^p A Dissertation was written upon this tomb by Octavius Falconierus, printed in Grævius, vol. iv. The pyramid is engraved, and the paintings within it, by Bartoli, *Antichi Sepolcri*.

standing. The height is 121 feet; the breadth at the base 96. It is built entirely of white marble, which has become black with age. Upon the walls within are some paintings, still in tolerable preservation. They consist of five figures of women; two sitting, two standing, and the one in the middle is a victory. The women probably relate to the office which Cestius held; and one of them may be observed to hold two long pipes in her hand. There are also vases and candelabra. The room is 26 palms long, 18 broad, and 19 high. We learn from the inscription, that it was finished in three hundred and thirty days. There are two different inscriptions; one which is repeated on the east and west sides,

C. CESTIVS. L. F. POB. EPVLO. PR. TR. PL
VII VIR. EPVLONVM

The other is on the south-side, in much smaller letters:

OPVS. ABSOLVTVM. EX. TESTAMENTO. DIEBVS. CCCXXX
ARBITRATV
PONTI. P. F. CLA. MELAE. HEREDIS. ET. POTH. L

All that we know of this C. Cestius is from this inscription: for he cannot be the same with him who is mentioned by Tacitus⁹, as Lipsius thought, because he was consul, which would of course have been expressed upon the tomb. It

⁹ An. lib. vi. c. 31.

might be expected that we should be able to ascertain the time at which he lived from the *Fasti Consulares*, where the names of the prætors and tribunes of the people are given. But these lists are very imperfect. The names of all the tribunes of the people are given till the year 610 U. C. in which only one is named, and the other nine are wanting. This is the case till the year 632, where the *Fasti* end. We therefore cannot assign an earlier date to this tomb than 610, and there are reasons for putting it later. The marble of which it is built was not used in Rome till towards the end of the Republic. Three of the persons mentioned in another inscription, to be given presently, are found in the Capitoline marbles: P. Rutilius Lupus, as prætor in 704; M. Vips. Agrippa, as prætor in 713, and consul in 716; and M. V. M. Corvinus, as consul in 722. We may reasonably conclude, that these are the same persons mentioned in the inscription; and as they all survived C. Cestius, it is probable that he held office a little before them; so that we might fix his death somewhere about the year 716, when Agrippa was consul. But we are able to approach still nearer in our conjectures. The *Epulones* were established in 556, when they were three in number'. J. Cæsar increased them in 707 to ten. But we learn from other documents, as well as from this inscription, that the *Epulones* were before that time seven in

' Liv. lib. xxxiii. c. 42.

number. At what period they were increased from three to seven, we are not informed. Onuphrius gives reasons for thinking that it was done by Sylla, which would be about the year 671. So that (supposing Onuphrius to be right) we are limited to the period between 671 and 707.

The Cestian family is known to have been of some distinction; and the bridge, which leads out of the island, was called Pons Cestius, probably from one of the same family. The inscription states him to have been of the Publician tribe, prætor, tribune of the people, and one of the seven Epulones. The term *Epulo*, which occurs in the first line, is conjectured to have been a surname, as the office would hardly have been repeated twice. The business of the Epulones was to prepare the banquets for the gods, upon occasion of any public calamity or rejoicing. This ceremony was called *Lectisternium*, and is frequently mentioned by Livy.

The pyramidal form of building seems never to have been fashionable with the Greeks or Romans. The ancient Etruscans made use of it, as we learn from Pliny, who tells us^{*}, that the tomb of Porsena was of this form; or rather square, with five pyramids rising from it; which is an exact description of the ruin at Albano, which is called the Tomb of the Curiatii, but supposed to be that of Pompey. We have already seen from Acron, the scholiast upon Horace, that

^{*} Lib. xxxvi. c. 13.

a pyramid was raised to the memory of Scipio : and Fulvio says¹, that traces of it existed near the mausoleum of Adrian in the time of Alexander VI. The marble which covered it had been taken by Domnus I. (who was pope 677-9,) to pave the court of St. Peter's. We have, however, no other pyramid now remaining in Rome but this of C. Cestius. And it may be observed, that the circumstance of this being built as a tomb, in some measure confirms the idea of the Egyptian pyramids being erected for that purpose.

An ancient inscription, relating to the same C. Cestius, may be seen in the court of the building containing the Museum Capitolinum. It was found near the pyramid, and is as follows ;

M. VALERIVS. MESSALA. CORVINVS
P. RVTILIVS. LVPVS. L. IVNIVS. SILANVS
L. PONTIVS. MELA. D. MARIVS
NIGER. HEREDES. C. CESTI. ET
L. CESTIVS. QVAE. EX. PARTE. AD
EVM. FRATRIS. HEREDITAS
M. AGRIPPAE. MVNERE. PER
VENIT. EX. EA. PECVNIA. QVAM
PRO. SVIS. PARTIBVS. RECEPER
EX. VENDITIONE. ATTALICOR
QVAE. EIS. PER. EDICTVM
AEDILIS. IN. SEPVLCHRVM
C. CESTI. EX. TESTAMENTO
EIVS. INFERRE. NON. LICVIT

¹ Lib. iv. c. 31.

Coupling this inscription with that upon the tomb, we may learn that the five persons mentioned first in this last inscription were named heirs by the will of C. Cestius: one of whom, Pontius Claudius Mela, (or perhaps his son,) and Pothus, a freedman of the deceased, superintended the erection of the monument. L. Cestius, brother of the deceased, seems not to have been made heir by the will, but by the liberality of M. Agrippa. Most probably C. Cestius named Agrippa his heir, because he was a man of rank, and because he knew, that he would give up the property to the natural heir L. Cestius. This was customary in Rome: and property left in this manner was called *Fidei commissum*. It also appears, that C. Cestius ordered in his will, that some robes, which were called *Attalici* (from King Attalus, who first invented them*), should be burnt with his body. But an edict of the ædiles, intended to check the expence incurred at funerals, hindered his heirs from doing this, and the robes were sold.

There is also a colossal foot in bronze, in the *Stanza del Vaso* in the Capitol, which was found at the same time near the pyramid. It was standing upon a marble base; and it is calculated, that the statue to which it belonged must have been fifteen palms (eleven feet) high. These were found when the pyramid was being restored by order of Alexander VII. Part of it was bu-

* Pliny, lib. xxxiii. c. 19.

ried sixteen feet by the accumulation of soil. It may be mentioned, as a singular instance of error in so learned a man, and such a lover of antiquities, that Petrarch considered this pyramid to be the tomb of Remus. The inscriptions were perhaps not so legible in his days.

Close to this tomb is the burial-place for protestants and heretics of all descriptions: the monuments to the English are by far the most numerous: and in the winter of 1819 a subscription was set on foot among the English families, with the concurrence of the Roman government, to inclose the place.

MAUSOLEUM OF AUGUSTUS.

Of this once magnificent fabric considerable remains still exist, but they are completely surrounded by other buildings, and what is to be seen exhibits no beauty or grandeur of architecture. The body of Marcellus, the nephew of Augustus, was the first deposited here: and Virgil, who has so pathetically celebrated his death, makes allusion also to this Mausoleum:

Quantos ille virum magnam Mavortis ad urbem
Campus aget gemitus, vel quæ, Tiberine, videbis
Funera, *cum tumulum præterlabere recentem.*

Æn. vi. 873.

J. Cæsar, Augustus, and Germanicus, were also buried here. It was of a circular form, 400 feet in height, with a dome at the top, surmounted by

a statue of Augustus. The diameter of the largest part was fifty paces¹. The whole was covered with marble. Tacitus² calls it the tomb of the Octavii: and Suetonius³ says, that Augustus built it in the year of his sixth consulate, and planted trees about it for public walks.

The best account of the original appearance of this building is given by Strabo⁴; “What they call the Mausoleum is particularly worthy of mention. It is built upon immense foundations of white marble, and covered with evergreens. On the top is a statue of Augustus in bronze; underneath are the vaults for himself, his relations, and dependents. Behind is a grove with admirable walks.” He then proceeds to describe the place where the bodies were burnt: “In the centre of the plain stands the Tomb itself, finished in white marble, with iron palisades round it, and poplar trees planted within. The inner circular wall still exists with the *opus reticulatum*; but formerly, as it seems, there were three walls at equal distances, the intervals between which were marked out into certain spaces, so as to produce a greater number of vaults, for the interment of each person separately.” Of all this splendour little now remains but a circular mass of brickwork of immense thickness: the dome is entirely gone; and this, as well as other parts,

¹ Spence's Anecdotes, p. 88.
Augusto. ² Lib. v.

³ An. lib. iv. c. 44.

⁴ In

having fallen in, has made such an accumulation in the interior, that the present area is raised a considerable height above the street. It has been fitted up with rows of seats after the manner of the ancient amphitheatres, and bull-fights are occasionally performed in it. Several of the sepulchral chambers may still be seen in the wall, which surrounds the whole².

MAUSOLEUM OF ADRIAN.

This building is now called the Castle of S. Angelo, from a bronze statue of the Archangel Michael on the top of it. It seems to have been erected in imitation and rivalry of the Mausoleum of Augustus, which stood at no great distance off on the other side of the Tiber. Perhaps Adrian did not quite finish it, as Capitolinus mentions something being done to it by Antoninus Pius. Both structures were circular. This of Adrian consisted of three stories, one above the other, besides a square basement. From coins and the description of Procopius we may collect, that the two first stories were ornamented with pillars and statues, and the third was surmounted with a cupola and a statue of Adrian. The passage in Procopius is this¹: “The tomb
“of the Emperor Adrian stands without the
“Porta Aurelia, at about a stone’s throw from the

¹ Engravings are given of this Mausoleum by Bartholi, in his work upon ancient sepulchres.

² Lib. iii.

“ walls, and is undoubtedly well worth seeing.
“ For it is built of Parian marble: the square
“ stones [of which the basement is built] are
“ joined alternately to each other, without the
“ admixture of any cement, and it is divided
“ into four sides of equal dimensions; each is
“ of such a length, that a stone thrown from one
“ angle would but just reach the other^b. In
“ height it surpasses the walls of the city. There
“ are also statues on it of men and horses,
“ finished with wonderful skill out of Parian
“ marble. The inhabitants a long time ago, ob-
“ serving it stand like a tower overlooking the
“ city, carried out two arms from the walls to
“ the tomb, and by building them into it so united
“ it, that thenceforward it became part of the
“ walls: for it has a very lofty appearance, like
“ a tower, and overhangs the gate in that
“ quarter.” In the painting of the appearance of
the cross to Constantine, in the room, which is
called after that emperor, in the Vatican, the
Mausoleum of Adrian is introduced, as well as
that of Augustus, in what is supposed to have
been their ancient state: they were probably de-
signed by Raffael.

Besides the basement, the first circular story
now alone remains, 576 feet in circumference;
stripped of all its ornaments, and with modern
buildings on the top of it. The statues were
thrown down during the siege of Rome by the

^b On Nolli's great plan, the sides measure 260 English feet.

Goths under Vitiges; when the building served for a citadel, and the besieged threw down the statues upon their assailants. In the scheme for dragging the Tiber in search of antiquities, which was tried in the summer of 1819, great hopes were entertained that some of these statues would be found. The sanguine supporters of the scheme seem to have forgotten, that marble statues (probably of colossal size) could not easily be used as weapons of offence, unless they were first broken in pieces. Procopius, who mentions the fact of the statues being thrown down, expressly says, that they were so broken. His words are, "having broken the statues, "which were of marble and great size, they "threw down large stones made out of their "fragments upon the heads of the enemy." It is however asserted by Winkelmann^c, that when Urban VIII. repaired the ditch of this fortress, two statues were found there: one of a sleeping faun, the legs, thighs, and left arm of which were wanting, and which is now in the Barberini gallery. The other was of Septimius Severus. He adds, that Alexander VI. discovered others, and in this he is confirmed by Andrea Fulvio and L. Fauno, who say, that they had seen some heads and other fragments dug up, when the ditches were being made deeper. They perhaps were dug up near this place, but whether they belonged to the series of statues which ornamented

^c Tom. ii. p. 338.

the Mausoleum, cannot surely be ascertained. The Tiber has certainly given up no such treasures hitherto, and the above-mentioned scheme totally failed.

Some disputes have arisen as to a pine of metal, which is now in the garden of Belvedere, and which is said to have been on the top of this building. It is often represented so in drawings. But this is a mistake. Some authors have mentioned, that a statue of Adrian stood on the top; and Johannes Antiochenus says, that a car in bronze formerly stood there. If this writer is to be believed, the proportions of this car were so immense, that a tall man could place himself in the hollow of the horse's eyes! And yet the height of this building was so prodigious, that the car and the figure in it looked quite diminutive from the ground^d. Dante seems to allude to this pine in the *Inferno*, xxxi. 58.

La faccia sua mi pare lunga e grossa,
Come la *pina* di San Pietro a Roma.

The commentators perpetuate the mistake of placing this pine on the top of the Mausoleum: others make the poet allude to the cupola of S. Peter's: but as the pine stood for a long time in front of the old church of S. Peter, the words in the passage quoted are very intelligible. It stood in the centre of the *Quadriporticus*, or

^d Jo. Antioch. De Archæologia, quoted by Salmas. not. in Spart. p. 51. He lived about 560 A. D.

quadrangular cloister, which was in front of the old Basilica; and was covered by a canopy supported by eight columns, on the top of which were two peacocks and four dolphins, all gilt. The whole is said by some antiquaries to have been on the top of the Mausoleum. The pine was 15 palms high, and served as a fountain. Flaminius Vacca^e tells us, that it was found in digging for the foundations of the old church of Transpontina, which is at the foot of the Mausoleum of Adrian: and this probably gave rise to the idea, that it formerly stood on the top of that building.

It may also be found in some books, that the beautiful Corinthian columns in the church of St. Paul came from hence; but the account is not true. St. Paul's was built in 396, whereas Procopius mentions the Mausoleum and its statues as being perfect in 536; besides which the height of the pillars, which is 46 palms, is much too great for them to have stood on this building.

At what time it was first used as a place of defence, is not easy to ascertain. Procopius speaks of it as an event which took place considerably before his time. Perhaps we may assign it to the first Gothic war, when Alaric invaded Rome. In the second war, the statues were broken and thrown down, as already stated. Totila afterwards gained possession of the build-

^e No. 61.

ing, and, according to Procopius[†], a very strong fortress was made of it by the garrison, which held it after Totila's death. They surrounded it with walls, and connected their new work with the walls of the city. In the twenty-sixth year of the reign of Justinian, A. D. 553, the Goths were forced to give it up, and after that it continued in the possession of the exarchs, who governed Rome in the name of the Greek emperors. The name of S. Angelo was given to it upon the occasion of an angel appearing to Gregory the Great, when he went in a grand procession of clergy and people to S. Peter's, after the terrible inundation in November, 589. His third successor, Boniface IV. dedicated a chapel to S. Michael at the top of the Mausoleum. Luitprandus gives the following account of it during this period[‡]. "In the entrance to the city of
 "Rome there is a fortification of astonishing
 "workmanship and astonishing strength: in
 "front of the gate is a bridge of great consequence over the Tiber, which is the first in
 "going in or out of Rome: nor is there any
 "other way of passing except over this bridge.
 "But this cannot be done, except by leave of
 "those] who guard the fortress. The fortress
 "itself is of so great a height, that a church,
 "which is built at the top of it in honour of the
 "Archangel Michael, chief of the heavenly host,
 "is called the Church of S. Angelo in the hea-

[†] Lib. iii.[‡] Lib. iii. c. 12.

“vens, (*usque ad cælos*).” There is still a figure of an angel upon the top: but Andrea Fulvio, who wrote in the sixteenth century, speaks of it as a thing which had existed, but did not in his days.

Different powerful families occupied it till the time of John XII. who was the first pope that possessed it, about 955. His successors were sometimes masters of it, and sometimes driven out of it. About the year 985, Crescenzo Nomentano got possession of it, and added the fortifications. From him it got the name of Castello di Crescenzo ^b. After this time, a long period of troubles succeeded between the pope and the citizens of Rome; during which time we sometimes find the pope overawing the people by means of this fortress, and sometimes besieged in it by the turbulent citizens. It was disfigured and reduced to its present shapeless form by the fury of the Roman populace in 1378, at which time it had been occupied by a garrison placed there by the French cardinals, who opposed the election of Urban VI. Boniface IX. repaired the walls in 1392, and since his time, the popes with little interruption have kept possession of it ^c. Alexander VI. added some brickwork at the top, and strengthened the fortifications in general. Paul III. and Pius IV. also did much towards ornamenting and fortifying it: and

^b Vide Guicciardini, lib. i. p. 121.

^c Vide Guicciardini, lib. iv. p. 222.

lastly Urban VIII. added more than any of his predecessors. Since this time it has always been used as the citadel of Rome, and now serves also as a state prison. It has a secret communication with the Vatican. In the interior are some paintings by Perino del Vaga, Giulio Romano, &c. The chamber in which the remains of Adrian were laid may still be seen: but Innocent II. removed the urn of Porphyry to the Lateran, to serve for his own tomb.

TOMB OF CÆCILIA METELLA.

While we are upon the subject of tombs, that of Cæcilia Metella must not be omitted. It stands on the Appian way, and near to the Circus of Caracalla. Nothing more is known of this lady, than from the inscription on the outside, which allies her to a noble family.

CAECILIAE
Q. CRETICI. F
METELLAE
CRASSI

That the family of the Metelli had a burial-place upon this road, we learn from Cicero^g; “An tu
“egressus porta Capena cum Calatini, Scipi-
“onum, Serviliorum, Metellorum sepulchra vi-
“des, &c.” Q. C. Metellus got the surname of Creticus for his conquest of Crete, U. C. 687^h: and we may fairly conclude, that this inscription

^g Tusc. Disp. lib. i. c. 7.

^h Vid. Velleius, lib. ii. c. 40.

relates to his daughter, who married into the family of Crassus.

The upper part of this monument is circular, resting upon a square basement. This basement is made of small irregular stones, with large square ones at certain intervals. The circular part is of freestone, and remarkable for the immense size of the stones, which are in fact larger than they appear to be; for each block is divided into two or three squares, and on account of the arrangement of the squares, it is difficult to perceive the joinings. The original entrance is buried under the soil; but an opening has been made above, by which we see the interior. The top of the roof is broken in, but enough remains to prove it to have been of a conical shape; that is, the walls converged internally, though on the outside they remained straight, so that they must have been much thicker at top than they were at bottom. The sarcophagus, which contained the remains of the person buried here, was taken to the Palazzo Farnese, where it may still be seen in the court. Poggio says, that part of the tomb was burnt to make lime.

The cornice is ornamented with festoons and bulls' heads alternately, from whence the building has acquired the name of Capo di Bove. This ornament of bulls' heads is frequently to be seen in ancient buildings and sculptures. Livy mentions it being first invented¹: but the Greeks certainly

¹ I quote this from memory, not being able to find the passage.

used it in connection with festoons, and probably at a period prior to that mentioned by Livy. In the British Museum some specimens may be seen of it upon ancient altars^k. The tomb was fortified in the middle ages by the Gaetani family, to which the buildings round it belonged.

Another tomb, resembling this in form, but smaller, may be seen on the road to Tivoli, close to the Ponte Lucano. It belonged to the Plautian family.

BATHS.

The luxury in which the Roman emperors indulged in the construction of their baths, is almost incredible. The expression of *Thermæ*, which is now applied to so many ruins, is certainly not wholly correct: but we have sufficient evidence that immense buildings were raised merely for this purpose. A. Marcellinus^l complains of their enormous size, "*lavacra in modum provinciarum extructa*." Some were intended for the summer, others for the winter. First of all, the emperors erected them for their own private use, but subsequently public ones were constructed, which were open to all. Sextus Rufus reckons eight hundred.

BATHS OF TITUS.

This name by no means answers to the immensity of the building which once covered this

^k See the room of the Elgin marbles, Nos. 91, 106.

^l Lib. xvi. c. 10.

part of the Esquiline hill, and should more properly be styled the Palace of Titus. This is in fact the name which Pliny gives to it^m. The ground is now occupied by gardens to a great extent, and several fragments still exist in various parts of them, which all belonged to the same edifice. Mæcenæ's house stood here before; and the Golden-house of Nero, on the Palatine hill, also extended as far as this place. Titus made use of both these buildings in constructing his own palace: and the ruins seem to agree with this account, by certain irregularities, and a want of uniformity. A considerable excavation was made in 1777; but the chief merit is due to the French, who carried on the work much farther, and arrived at the lower floor. The building seems originally to have consisted of two stories; but of the upper one little remains to be seen.

It is a mistake to suppose that the ancients built their houses with only a ground floor. At Pompeii this certainly appears to have been the case: nor am I aware, that in the excavations made within the walls, there has as yet been found any house of two stories. Outside the walls there is a larger house, which has been called that of M. Arrius Diomedes, which was certainly of more than one story. The baths of Titus, Caracalla, and Diocletian, were evidently of this kind: and we know that private houses were sometimes raised to a great height. The

^m Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

upper rooms were called *Cænacula*, and Juvenal frequently alludes to the uses which were made of them. He tells us plainly^a, that Centronius had villas at Tibur, Præneste, and Caieta, which were very lofty. The fact seems to be, that till the population of Rome became so enormous, the houses were only of one story. Vitruvius says as much^o; and by the law, which did not allow a wall to be more than a certain thickness, the walls, which were built of brick, could not support an upper story. They therefore took to build them of stone and stronger materials, by which means they were able to carry up their houses to a considerable height: and this, as Vitruvius says, was merely on account of the overflowing population.

The height of the rooms in the baths of Titus is prodigious, and they are comparatively very narrow. It is also remarkable, that in many of the rooms there is no trace of any window. This deficiency may frequently be observed in ancient Roman buildings. Many houses in Pompeii have no other aperture but the door, which leads into the court: and in the baths of Caracalla even the most perfect remains of chambers have no traces of windows. Some houses however certainly had them; and the term *fenestra*, though it often implied merely an open space in the wall, which let in the air as well as the light, signified also a kind of lattice-work, which was not uncommon

^a Sat. xiv. 88. Vid. Sat. iii. 195, &c. ^o Lib. ii. c. 8.

in dwelling houses. Virgil seems to allude to something of this kind, where he says,

qua se
Plena per insertas fundebat Luna fenestras.
ÆN. iii. 151.

Where glass was so little used and so imperfectly formed, it must have been difficult in time of winter to admit light and yet exclude the cold. And the custom, which seems so barbarous to us, of constructing rooms without windows, arose probably from their ignorance of an art, which now gives to every cottage in England an advantage over the palaces of the Cæsars. In Sicily, and great part of the south of Italy, glass is still rarely seen in the windows. The mildness of the climate allows the free admission of air in the day time, and at night the aperture is closed with wooden shutters. It would seem, that this luxury was of earlier introduction in the north than in the south of Europe. Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pope Pius II.) in his treatise *de moribus Germanorum*, written in the fifteenth century, mentions of the houses in Vienna, that they had all glass windows. “Verum his æstuaria
“sunt loco tricliniorum, quæ ab his Stubæ
“(Stoves) vocitantur: nam hyemis asperitatem
“hoc domitant modo. Fenestræ undique vitreæ
“perlucent^p.” The term *vitreæ*, as signifying glass windows, certainly occurs in very early

^p Vid. Epist. 165. lib. i.

writers. St. Jerom, who lived in the fourth century, mentions¹ glass being run into thin plates for this purpose: and the use of it in churches seems considerably to have preceded the general admission of it into private houses. In our own country, we are told by Stubbs², that Wigfrid, Bishop of Worcester, was the first who introduced windows of stone and glass into England: and Bede³ has the following passage in one of his works: “ Misit legatarios in Galliam, qui
“ Vitrificatores, artifices videlicet Britannis eate-
“ nus incognitos, ad cancellandas ecclesiæ por-
“ ticuumque et cœnaculorum ejus fenestras ab-
“ ducerent⁴. ”

Besides their ignorance of the art of making glass windows, I doubt whether the Romans did not designedly construct their houses in this manner, to render them cool. During the summer months, when the heat is so excessive in Italy, it is impossible, as in England, to retire to a cool side of the house, and there avoid the influence of the sun: the whole atmosphere seems to be scorched: and in the shade, as well as out of it, by night as well as by day, no relaxation of the heat is to be found. The ancient Romans, I imagine, adopted a remedy in excluding the outward air, and constructing their rooms, one within the other; so that the inner apartments

¹ In Ezech. xl. 16.

² In Actis Pontificum Ebor. anno 726.

³ De Wiremuthensi Monast. c. 5.

⁴ Vid. Ducange, *Vitreæ*.

had the coolness of a cellar. I think we have this custom clearly indicated in some letters of Pliny. In describing one of his villas in Tuscany to his friend Apollinaris", he says, " With " the coolingroom (*cella frigidaria*) is connected " a middle room, to which the sun is particularly " goodnatured : it is still more so to the warm- " ingroom (*caldaria*), for it projects forward. In " this are three descents : two are open to the " sun ; the third is farther from the sun, but not " farther from the light." What he here calls *cella frigidaria* seems to be a room without windows ; but as he has been speaking of baths, it may be said, that such rooms might be used after the operation of bathing, but not for living in. In the same epistle however he describes a suite of living rooms, and says, " At the end there is " a chamber, which in summer is quite frosty from " the cold shut up in it : it is contented with its " own atmosphere, and neither desires nor admits the external air." I by no means wish to say, that the ancients had *always* very few windows, or very small ones. I am well aware, that Vitruvius* gives particular instructions for admitting sufficient light. Pliny himself, whose letter I have quoted above, undoubtedly talks of many of his rooms having several windows : and it appears from a letter of Seneca', that even in the rooms where the baths were, very large windows were then fashionable : and people were

* Lib. v. epist. 6.

* Lib. vi. c. 9.

' Epist. 86.

not contented, unless they could enjoy a prospect of the country while they were in the water. All that I mean to say is, that where we see apartments in ancient buildings, such as in these baths, and very generally in Pompeii, where there was no aperture to the air but by the door, it was probably an intentional contrivance to have some rooms in the house, which were impervious to the heat of the sun. Vitruvius² frequently distinguishes between summer and winter rooms; and the term *hybernaculum*, as expressing a separate apartment contrived for warmth in winter, is very common in the letters of Pliny.

It must not however be supposed, that the ancients were unacquainted with the use of glass. Pliny tells us of the invention of it as early as 1000 A. C. And if we may believe his testimony, they were by no means rude in the management of it. For he tells us³, that in the time of Tiberius a method was discovered of making glass flexible. But he expresses some doubt as to the fact himself; and the story is evidently inadmissible, though it is repeated by Dio Cassius, Petronius Arbiter, and Isidore of Seville, who probably merely copied from Pliny. Aristotle asks two questions with respect to glass; What is it that makes it transparent? and, Why is it not flexible? The Greeks undoubtedly made use of it, and called it *hyalum*, a term which seems first

² Lib. vii.

³ Lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

to have signified *crystal*, and perhaps *rock-salt*; and which was afterwards transferred to *glass*, from its resembling those substances in transparency^b. Pliny tells us, that in Nero's time vases and cups were made of white transparent glass, so as to imitate rock-crystal. They came from Alexandria, and cost a great price. We know also, that they formed cinerary urns of it, and even executed bas-reliefs in glass: so that Winkelmann says^c, that the ancients in general made a greater use of glass than the moderns.

What brought them nearest to the modern application of it to windows was a species of luxury, which we learn from Vopiscus. He tells us, that Firmus covered the walls of his house with square pieces of glass, pitch and other preparations being inserted between them, probably to conceal the joinings. Still however we have no direct evidence that glass was used by them for those two purposes, which are so essential to us at present, namely, for mirrors and for windows. The former were metallic; and some specimens may be seen, now grown dull by age, in the gallery at Florence. Pliny tells us^d, that the best were made in his day of silver, which had been used for that purpose since the days of Pompey. He mentions, that there was a contrivance for affixing gold to the back of the silver, which gave a better reflection. More an-

^b Vid. Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. act. ii. sc. 1.

^c Lib. i. c. 2. s. 20.

^d Lib. xxxiii. c. 45.

ciently a mixture was used of tin and copper: but in his days silver ones were so common, that every maid-servant used them^c.

There is some evidence, that glass was applied to windows even by the ancients; and in the Museum at Parma some panes are preserved, brought from the ruins of Velleia, which are said to have been found in their original situation. They are certainly dull and obscure, but perhaps not more so than the best glass would be, after lying buried for so many centuries. Similar panes have also been found at Herculaneum. Horace may be adduced as an evidence, that the transparency of glass was brought to considerable perfection in his time, when he says of the pure fountain of Blandusia, that it was more pellucid than glass^f. It is true, that he gives the superiority to the fountain. It was natural that he should do so, in extolling its clearness; but if glass in those days was always dull and opaque, the compliment was not very great. St. Paul, when he uses the expression, "Now we see through a glass darkly^g," seems to allude to the use of glass for the admission of light; and at the same time to prove, that when applied to that purpose, it was not transparent enough to transmit the objects clearly. In the present day his metaphor would not be applicable, as we can now see as perfectly through glass, as when no such medium intervenes.

^c Lib. xxxiv. c. 48. ^f Od. iii. 13. 1. ^g 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

Before the Romans came to use glass for their windows, two mineral substances, *phengites* and *lapis specularis*, (probably Mica and Talc,) served for the transmission of light. Seneca tells us, when one of them was introduced^g, "There are "some arts which we know were not discovered "till our days: such is the use of those glasses, "*(specularia,)* made of transparent stones, (*testæ,*) "which leave a free passage for the light." Suetonius mentions this substance being used for mirrors^h; and Pliny tells usⁱ, that bee-hives were made of it, in order to shew the bees at work. Some have thought that glass also was used for windows at this time, from a passage in Philo, where he is giving an account of the embassy to Claudius. Speaking of the room of audience, he says, "that the emperor walked about, and ordered the windows every where to be closed "with transparent stones, which resembled white "*hyalum.*" It is difficult to give an exact interpretation to these words: but they are not decisive as indicating the use of glass. We must bear in mind, that the stone called *phengites* was not the same with the *lapis specularis*. The latter was known before the former. The passage quoted from Seneca shews, that *phengites* was not known till about Nero's time, or a little before. Pliny points out the distinction still more clearly: describing the *lapis specularis*^k,

^g Epist. xci.^h Domit. c. xiv.ⁱ Lib. xxi. c. 14.^k Lib. xxxvi. c. 45.

he tells us, that it was easily divided into thin laminæ, and was sometimes found incorporated in rocks, but was generally dug up by itself, and only required cutting. It was found in Spain, Cyprus, Cappadocia, Sicily, and Africa; and the laminæ never exceeded five feet in length. This description seems to answer to what we call Talc, which is now found mostly in the Tyrol, Saxony, and Silesia, connected with rocks of serpentine. Having described the *lapis specularis*, Pliny proceeds to say, that in Nero's time a stone had been discovered which was as hard as marble, white, and transparent, even where there were yellow veins. "So that when the doors are closed, there is still the light of day within, but produced in a different manner from what it is by *specularia*, the light being as it were shut up in the room, not transmitted from without. Juba also writes, that there is a stone in Arabia, transparent like glass, which they use for *specularia*." Still however we have no express mention of panes of glass. I understand *specularia* to mean glasses made of the *lapis specularis*: as appears also from combining two passages in Martial, which give us the additional information, that the Romans had green-houses, or hot-houses, constructed like our own. We read,

Hibernis objecta Notis Specularia pueros
Admittunt soles, et sine sæcè diem.

Lib. viii. ep. 14.

Condita perspicua vivit vindemia gemma,
Et tegitur felix, nec tamen uva latet.

Lib. viii. ep. 68.

The *gemma* in the last epigram is evidently the same as *specularia* in the first; and the term *gemma* would hardly have been used to denote an artificial substance like glass; but was not unappropriate to a natural production found imbedded in rocks. Another passage in Pliny¹ is more to the point, because he is there expressly treating of glass. After praising Sidon for its manufacture of that article, he adds, “*si quidem etiam specularia excogitaverat.*” If neither of these two passages relate to windows of glass, Lactantius is the earliest author who mentions them^m. “It is manifest, that it is the mind “which sees, by means of the eyes, those things “which are opposite to it, as if through windows “covered with glass, or *lapis specularis.*” Lactantius wrote A. D. 320ⁿ.

In such rooms as these in the baths of Titus, lamps must always have been used: and it may be observed, that there is scarcely a passage in an ancient author where mention is made of a banquet, but “the golden lamps hanging from “the roofs” are always added. According to

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 26.

^m De Opific. Dei, tom. ii. c. 8.

ⁿ A good description of the *lapis specularis* may be seen in St. Basil, (homil. 3.)

the hours which the ancients observed for their meals, (the *cæna* or last meal being at about three o'clock,) there would have been no need of lights had there been windows to the rooms; which affords another proof that they were frequently constructed without them. Indeed Grecian architecture seems to derive a peculiar character from the absence of such apertures. If any objection is to be made to the chaste and simple models which ancient Greece has left us, it is, that there is a heaviness and a want of relief in the vast masses of solid masonry. The modern Italian architects have gone into the contrary extreme: their aim seems to have been to break every portion of the building into as many parts as possible: and in the pediments of their windows they have been particularly profuse in ornament. The difference is probably to be traced to the fact of the ancients having had few windows in their buildings, and the moderns having many. That circumstances, which seem of little importance, can influence the architecture of a whole nation, may be seen in the fact of windows in England being much smaller than those on the continent. The window-tax originally reduced the dimensions of our windows: and so great is the force of habit, that we should not perhaps adopt any other proportions if the tax were to be taken off. In such structures as the Palace of Titus, where many ornaments both in painting and sculpture were assembled, it might be thought that much of the effect would be lost by their being never

seen except by the light of lamps. With respect to sculpture, however, it is well known that there is no greater test of the excellence of the work, than to view it by torch-light: the rising of the muscles, and all those delicate touches of the chisel, which are scarcely observed on the smooth surface of the white marble, are thrown into a much stronger light and shade in this manner. It is not uncommon for parties to visit the Vatican at night, and view the statues by torch-light. The effect is certainly very good: and some pretend to discover that the modern productions appear greatly inferior to the ancient on such occasions. We know that there were formerly some of the finest specimens of sculpture in the baths of Titus, and the paintings on the walls still remain. The Laocoon was found here during the pontificate of Julius II. which Pliny^o mentions as standing in this palace.

Notwithstanding the depth of soil which has accumulated on the top of the building, and which serves for gardens, there are paintings on the ceiling which may be called extremely perfect. The damp seems to have had little or no effect upon them, which is probably owing to the excellence of the Roman brickwork. They consist chiefly of arabesques, with all the figures very small, forming little borders and patterns of birds, beasts, &c. among which some green parrots may be seen very distinctly. We know that this me-

^o Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

thod of ornamenting rooms was a late introduction; and it was considered as a sign that the art of painting was on the decline, when instead of representing historical subjects upon the walls, they took to draw fanciful objects, such as landscapes, ponds, sea pieces, and such like. Vitruvius makes a complaint of this kind; and it may perhaps be curious to see a description of arabesques in the original language of a writer of the Augustan age. He says^p, “*Pinguntur tectoriis monstra potius quam ex rebus finitis imagines certæ. Pro columnis enim statuuntur calami, pro fastigiis harpaginetuli striati cum crispis foliis et volutis. Item candelabra ædicularum sustinentia figuras supra fastigia earum surgentes ex radicibus, cum volutis coliculi teneri plures, habentes in se sine ratione sedentia sigilla, alia humanis alia bestiarum capitibus similia. Hæc autem nec sunt, nec fieri possunt, nec fuerunt. Ergo ita novi mores congerunt, uti inertia mali iudices conniveant artium virtutes.*” He seems to give the name of *topiarium opus* to this style of painting^q. The term arabesque is said to have been applied, because the Arabs and other Mahometans use this kind of ornaments; their religion forbidding them to make any images or figures of men or other animals. There are also some larger paintings, but not in such good preservation. Mars and Rhea Sylvia have been said to form the subject

^p Lib. vii. c. 5.

^q Vide this same chapter, and lib. v. c. 8.

of one, and Coriolanus of the other: but Winkelmann is not of this opinion^r. In his explanation de Monumens de l'Antiquité he has published four of these paintings, with a long and learned description. The ground is generally a rich dark red. At the end of one of the rooms is a large painting of some building, in which the perspective is correctly given.

The charge, which has been brought against the ancient painters of not understanding the rules of perspective, certainly cannot be maintained. It may be true, that in some of their paintings, which have been preserved to us, these rules are violated: but in a great number they are strictly followed. There is no evidence, that the collection of frescos at Portici, which came from Pompeii and Herculaneum, were executed by any other than common house-painters. On the contrary it is reasonable to suppose, that they are the work of such artists. When it was as common to paint the walls of houses with arabesques and figures, as it is now to cover them with paper, the ordinary house-painters were of course capable of the work: it would therefore be almost as unfair to judge of the knowledge of the ancient painters from these remains at Pompeii, as to estimate the state of the arts in England from the sign-posts. It would be rather more reasonable to say, that if the most ordinary workmen could do so well,

^r Lib. iv. c. 8. §. 9.

the great masters must indeed have been excellent. But without having recourse to this argument, many specimens may be seen at Portici, where architectural subjects are treated with every attention to perspective. Unfortunately none of the works of their great masters have come down to us : nor would I build much upon the argument, that as they carried sculpture to such perfection, the sister art must also have attained equal excellence. But thus far it is reasonable to conclude, that the people, who had such models as the works of Grecian sculpture to form their taste upon, would never have lavished such praises upon the productions of their painters, if they also had not been really excellent. I allow, that all praise is relative to the age in which it is bestowed. In the thirteenth century the Italians admired the works of Giotto and Cimabue : nor was this unnatural, as nothing better had ever been seen by them. The principles of architecture were then rude and indefinite : sculpture was as unsuccessful in its efforts as painting. But as the arts advanced, each generation learnt to despise what their predecessors had admired ; and in the sixteenth century, when so many ancient statues were discovered, we find, that painters only of real excellence were esteemed. It would therefore not be reasonable to suppose, that while the Greeks had carried the art of sculpture to its highest perfection, they would bestow the same terms of praise upon their paintings, merely because they were

the best that they had seen. We must suppose them to have been really and not relatively excellent. How could a person, who had seen the almost living forms which a Praxiteles or an Agasias produced, talk of the illusion raised by the works of Zeuxis or Apelles, if these painters were ignorant of the first principles of the art?

Yet they have been accused of not understanding perspective, nor the theory of light and shade. The charge has been brought by Perrault, in his parallel of the ancients and the moderns, a book, in which great malice is shewn against the ancients, together with excessive ignorance on the part of the author. With respect to perspective, he has been answered by Sallier¹. The passages, which he produces to refute Perrault are few, but convincing. I shall borrow two of them, and add some others, which appear to me decisive. With respect to light and shade, the first passage which I shall produce is from Pliny, where he says of painting², "The art at length became
" distinct, and invented light and shades; a difference of colours alternately throwing out each
" other." In the same book³ he tells us, "that
" Zeuxis, and Polygnotus, and Euphranor, understood how to express shades, and to make
" their figures advance and retire." The younger

¹ Acad. des Inscript. vol. viii. p. 97.

² Lib. xxxv. c. 5.

³ C. 11.

Pliny also says *, “ In a picture there is nothing
“ which sets off light more than shade.”

With respect to perspective, the knowledge which the ancients had of it is clearly indicated in the following passage ; where Pliny tells us †, “ that Apelles admired Asclepiodorus in his
“ *symmetries* he yielded to Asclepiodorus
“ in proportion, (*mensuris*,) that is, in putting ob-
“ jects at their proper distance, (*quanto quid a*
“ *quo distare deberet*.)” The passage produced by Sallier is still more satisfactory, as it shews how early the theory of perspective was known. It is from that Dialogue of Plato, which is called the sophist, he says, “ If painters and sculptors
“ confined themselves to preserving the real pro-
“ portions of objects, those which are situated
“ at a certain point of elevation would appear to
“ us too small ; and those which are placed
“ lower would seem too large ; the one being
“ viewed near, the other at a distance. Our
“ artists therefore at present abandon the truth,
“ and give to their figures not the real pro-
“ portion of their model, but that which would
“ convey to the eye an idea of beauty in the
“ figures.” We might perhaps be satisfied with a single passage of Vitruvius, without having recourse to any other. It is in his preface to his seventh book ; he is there speaking of the decorations of theatres, and says, “ that Democritus
“ and Anaxagoras had written to explain how

* Lib. iii. epist. 13.

† Lib. xxxv. c. 10.

“ by fixing a point in a certain place, we might
“ make the lines coming from it meet the field of
“ the eye, and the extension of rays according
“ to nature: so that though ignorant of the prin-
“ ciple, we may have definite forms of buildings
“ represented to us on scenes; and figures, which
“ are drawn upon straight and smooth surfaces,
“ may appear some to recede, and some to ad-
“ vance.”

I must produce one more passage from Pliny, which most clearly expresses the foreshortening of figures². “ Pausias was the first inventor of
“ a secret in painting, which many afterwards
“ imitated, but none equalled. Wishing to re-
“ present the whole length of an ox, he painted
“ it fronting the spectator, not sideways, and yet
“ the size of the animal was made perfectly in-
“ telligible. Again, painters in general make
“ the parts, which they wish to stand out, rather
“ light, and compose a colour out of a black
“ ground: but Pausias made the whole ox of a
“ black colour, and represented a body of shade
“ rising out of shade, shewing with excessive
“ skill, that parts could stand out where all
“ seemed even, and that every part was firm and
“ distinct where all seemed confused.”

As to the arabesques in the baths of Titus, it is said, that Raffael took some hints from them in his ornaments of the Vatican; and he is accused of having had the rooms filled up again,

² Lib. xxxv. c. 11.

that his thefts might not be discovered. They were undoubtedly open in his time, as the Laocoon was discovered in 1506, and Raffael painted the *Loggie* in the Vatican in 1513-21. It is also true, that they were subsequently filled up, and the soil, which occupied them, was not an accumulation merely effected by time. Many of the rooms were full up to the very top, a height perhaps of thirty feet; and the rubbish, which has been dug out, consists of stones and other ruins of buildings. The room, in which the Laocoon was found, and which must have been cleared at that time, is stated by the guides to have been also choked up, when the French began to dig. But we may ask, if the room was full of soil from the time of Raffael to the time of the late excavations, how was the tradition preserved, that this was the actual apartment where the Laocoon was found? It is a singular circumstance, that in almost all the rooms a round hole has been broken in the ceiling, as if purposely to throw in rubbish. So that it is perhaps not an improbable conjecture, that the owners of the land, wishing to clear it for cultivation, got rid of sundry fragments, which projected above the surface, by throwing them into this convenient receptacle. At all events, we must not believe the charge against Raffael without some satisfactory evidence. He is known to have been an eager searcher after antiquities, and to have made a proposal to Leo X. for instituting a general examination. The Romans in his time were per-

haps as enthusiastic in this pursuit, as they have been during any subsequent period ; and we may imagine, that when such a discovery was made, as that of the chambers in the palace of Titus, thousands would be led by curiosity to examine them. Such indeed is the express testimony of Gianbattista Armeni, a writer of that day, who says, that all Rome ran in crowds to see the ornaments of stucco and painting, which presented such singular varieties. All these persons would have seen the arabesques : they must have formed the principal objects for the *Ciceroni* to point out : owing to their great height, Raffael could not have copied them without scaffolding and without lights : so that it seems impossible that he could have conceived the idea of transferring these designs to the Vatican, and keeping the originals unknown. Besides which it is certain, from the work of Giulio Mancini upon painting, that the baths were open in the time of Urban VIII. who reigned in 1623—44. Where the walls are bare, the brickwork has a most singular appearance of freshness : the stucco also is very perfect in many parts ; but the marble, of which there are evident traces on the walls and floors, is gone.

These ruins extend, as I have mentioned, over a great tract of ground : and in one of the adjoining gardens is a building connected with the baths, and called *Sette Sale di Vespasiano*. It got this name, when seven rooms only had been opened ; but there are in all nine, of the same

size, and supposed to have served as a reservoir for water. There are two stories, the lower of which is buried. Each chamber opens into the next by means of an arch. These arches are not placed opposite to each other; but a person placing himself in the first room may look through all of them in a slanting direction. To make myself understood, I have given a ground-plan of the building; and much ingenuity has been exercised, to explain why the arches were constructed in this manner. But if we examine this plan, perhaps we shall conclude, that this was not the effect which the architect had in view. The plan is in fact extremely simple, and the most natural of any for such a building. To form a series of chambers communicating with each other by arches, each partition was divided into so many oblong portions, from which the arches were to spring: and these portions were not set exactly one before the other, but the space between each two corresponded with the middle of the opposite pier: hence resulted the effect of our being able to see through so many arches at once, which is a natural consequence of the plan of the building, but was not studied purposely by the architect. The longest of these rooms is 137 feet: the width of each is 17½.

The walls of the upper chambers, besides a coat of very hard plaister, shew three distinct deposits, one above the other, formed by a sediment from water. These are so extremely hard,

that it is difficult to separate a small portion from the wall to examine it. That water should leave a deposit upon the wall, seems very natural : but why there should be here three distinct coatings, seems not so easy to explain. Such a phenomenon could scarcely have been produced, without some intervals of time having passed, when the water was temporarily withdrawn. Perhaps we may be able to assign a cause, which will account for the singular appearance. Of the five great aquaducts, which brought water into Rome, the *Aqua Julia* supplied the Esquiline and Palatine hills. Consequently the baths of Titus were fed from this stream, and the Sette Sale may have formed the reservoir. Now it is known, that the *Aqua Julia* was an union of three streams, the *Aqua Martia*, brought to Rome U. C. 608 or 640, by Q. Martius Rex; the *Aqua Tepula*, which was brought U. C. 627; and the *Aqua Julia*, properly so called, which was introduced U. C. 721, by M. Agrippa. Each stream originally entered the city by itself; but as the others were brought, they were successively turned into the same aquaduct, and came on one course of arches into Rome. Now it seems not improbable, that the *Aqua Martia* or *Tepula* (whichever was the earliest) formed the first deposit. It would seem also, by another stream being brought in, that the first must have proved deficient, or while the second work was going on, the water might have been withdrawn, and thus we have the first deposit. Then when the two streams

were let in, another deposit began to be formed, which would not incorporate with the first, but lie over it. Lastly, when the Aqua Julia was being introduced, (after an interval of nearly a century,) the same temporary withdrawing of the water might have taken place, and thus the second deposit would have hardened. After this the third was formed by the three streams united. To allow this we must assume, that the *Sette Sale* were not built as a reservoir for the baths of Titus, but long antecedent, which is not at all contrary to the appearance of the building. It is indeed natural to suppose, that when Agrippa brought the aquaduct to the Esquiline hill, there was a reservoir constructed for it. It seems to have been the custom with most of the aquaducts. The remains of a reservoir for the Claudian aquaduct are still to be seen near the Temple of Minerva Medica; and what is called the *Castello dell' Acqua Giulia*, is always allowed to have been a reservoir, though it is disputed for what water. The *Piscina Mirabile* near Baia, and the Labyrinth near Pozzuoli, are also instances of this custom prevailing.

BATHS OF CARACALLA.

These, which form the principal ruin on Mount Aventine, were smaller than the baths of Diocletian, and larger than those of Titus: but much more is remaining of them, than of either of the others. They look not unlike the ruins of some

of our old castles in England, and next to the Colosseum present the greatest mass of ancient building in Rome. The length of the whole is said to be 1840 feet, the breadth 1476. The outer wall may be traced in nearly its whole circuit, though it has lost something of its height. The number of rooms in the interior, and the dimensions of them, are most astonishing: one in particular, called *Cella Solearis*, is 203 feet long by 146 wide: the flat roof, which covered it, was considered very surprising by the ancients. Spartianus describes the baths thus: “Romæ reliquit
“thermas sui nominis eximias: quarum cellam
“solearem architecti negant posse ulla alia ratione fieri, nisi qua facta est. Nam ex ære vel
“cupro cancelli superpositi esse dicuntur, quibus
“cameratio tota concredita est: et tantum est
“spatii, ut id ipsum aliter fieri potuisse negent
“docti mechanici.” Lampridius says, that they were begun by Caracalla, and that Heliogabalus annexed porticos, which were finished by Alexander Severus. Olympiodorus tells us, that 1600 seats were made of polished marble for the use of the persons bathing. The lower story, in which the baths were constructed, is entirely buried; and the rooms of the upper story, which are what we now see, are in complete ruin. The roofs, where any portion of them remain, consist half of pumice stone, for the sake of lightness in such large arches. The niches are very perfect in some squares of it, but in the most perfect parts there is nothing to be seen of win-

dows^a. By means of a broken staircase a person may climb up to the top of the building, and ramble in various directions through a kind of shrubbery, which has grown on the summit of the walls. Perpendicular channels of tiles may be observed on the outside, which seem to have carried the water from the roof.

It is to be regretted, that excavations are not carried on here at present on a more extensive scale, as there is every reason to expect, that the search would be repaid. Some of the finest works, which the ancients have left us in sculpture, have been found here. In 1540, during the reign of Paul III. the Farnese Hercules was discovered. At first the legs were wanting; but they were found in 1560, and came into the possession of Prince Borghese, who refused for some time to give them up. They are now however rejoined to the body. In the mean time a fresh pair of legs had been executed by Guglielmo della Porta, under the direction of Michael Angelo, and these may now be seen in the Farnese palace at Rome. The name of the sculptor Glycon is upon the statue; and it had struck me, that Horace might allude to the enormous bulk of this statue, and not to a Gladiator as is commonly supposed, when he says,

Nec quia desperes invicti membra Glyconis.

Epist. i. 1, 30.

^a Spence's Anecdotes p. 94.

But Sandby has anticipated me in this remark : and Fea, the annotator of Winkelmann^b, says, that he is wrong, but does not add his reasons. The Abbè Dubos^c also thought, that this statue was distinctly mentioned by Pliny: but in this he is corrected by Winkelmann. The latter writer places Glycon amongst the sculptors, who flourished after the time of Alexander.

Paul III. being a Farnese, the Hercules became the property of that family, and was preserved in their palace at Rome. But by the marriage of Philip V. king of Spain with Elizabeth Farnese, the crown of Spain gained a claim to the possessions of that family. By the Quadruple Alliance in 1718, the Duchies of Parma and Placentia^d were adjudged to the Infant Don Carlos, son of Philip V. upon the extinction of the dukes of the Farnese family. Their line terminated with Antonio Francesco, who died in 1731 without issue: upon which Don Carlos succeeded. He gave them up to the emperor by the treaty of Vienna in 1738; but in 1748, by the peace of Aix la Chapelle, they were again transferred to Don Philip, brother to Don Carlos. Philip dying without issue in 1765, Don Carlos, who was then king of Spain, took possession of them, and left them to his son Ferdinand, who became king of Naples in 1759, and still reigns.

^b At l. vi. c. 4. §. 53.

^c Reflexions sur la Poesie et la Peinture.

^d Paul III. in 1545 gave Parma and Placentia to his son, Peter Louis Farnese, as Duke.

It was then that all the Farnese property became attached to the crown of Naples; and all the remains of antiquity, which were formerly in their palace at Rome, were removed to Naples.

The Flora, which is also in the royal Neapolitan Gallery, was found here in the same year with the Hercules, 1540. This seems certainly to be improperly called a Flora, and the flowers in the left hand, from which the name is taken, are a modern addition, together with the whole arm. The right arm also, the head, the legs and feet, have been restored by a modern hand. The figure is colossal, being nearly ten feet high. It is more difficult to decide what it ought to be called. Winkelmann (who appears never to have seen the statue) calls it in one place^c a Terpsichore, in another^f one of the Hours.

The famous *Toro Farnese*, which is also at Naples, in the *Villa Reale*, was a produce of the same excavation about the year 1546. This groupe represents Dirce fastened by her hair to a bull by Zethus and Amphion; but when the bull is on the point of starting off, Antiope orders them to release her, and they are stopping the fury of the animal. Pliny mentions this piece of sculpture^g, and tells us, that the artists were Apollonius and Tauriscus. He adds also, that it was formed of one block of marble. Of the truth of this statement we cannot now judge, as it has been greatly broken and restored by mo-

^c Liv. iv. c. 2. §. 85. ^f Ibid. c. 5. §. 20. ^g Lib. xxxvi. c. 5. He says that it was in the collection of Pollio.

dern hands. Baptista Bianchi of Milan was the person employed to replace the parts which were wanting. These parts are the head, breast, and two arms of Dirce; the head and arms of Antiope; both the figures of Amphion and Zethus, except the two *torsos* and one leg. The legs of the bull and the cord are also modern. Winkelmann^b (from whom I have borrowed this detail) condemns these restorations; and assigns to the original groupe a date subsequent to the age of Alexander.

The Jesuits begged to have these baths for their boys to play in, and have since sold a good deal of the stone¹. On the east side of this immense fabric are considerable remains of the portico, which was built by Heliogabalus and Alexander Severus. Within the precincts is an octagon building, which has been called a Temple of Hercules. There are four large niches in it, apparently for statues.

BATHS OF DIOCLETIAN.

Of these baths, which were the largest in Rome, little is to be said in description, although great fragments of the ancient building remain. Maximianus, when he returned from Africa, A. D. 298, began them, and employed seven years in the work. He had distinguished himself very much in persecuting the Christians, and accordingly he ordered as many as he could find to work in the

^a Liv. vi. c. 4. §. 17.

¹ Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94.

building. Some say that forty thousand Christians worked here. "Hence," says one of the antiquaries of Rome, "though all the other baths are destroyed, these, which were built by the hands of saints, are still preserved." He adds, that some of the bricks have been found with a cross marked upon them. At the time when he wrote, which is about two centuries ago, the remains of them were much greater; and when architecture was reviving in Italy, San Gallo, Michael Angelo, and others, studied them more than any other ancient specimens of building. They undoubtedly have given rise to some instances of bad taste, particularly in the superfluity of ornament, which we cannot be surprised at finding in these baths, when we consider the age in which they were built; but we may regret, that the great revivers of the art had recourse to them, rather than to simpler and chaster models. There are examples here of a series of columns, not supporting any horizontal entablature, (as in the more ancient Roman buildings,) but connected by arches springing from one to the other, as in our Saxon and Norman churches. The same may be observed in the ruins of Diocletian's palace at Spalatro.

The church of S. Maria degli Angeli occupies the principal part of these baths; and we may learn something of their extent, by considering the church of S. Bernardo as one of four round towers which stood at each angle. These two buildings are all that remain in any thing

like a perfect state. The former is said to have served for a picture gallery. Very considerable fragments of brickwork may be seen behind it : and it is remarkable, that in an excavation made near this spot, so much lead was found, that the cupola of S. Bernardo was covered with it.

These ruins stand both upon the Viminal and Quirinal hills, which come to a junction in this place.

BATHS OF PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

This name is given to some ruins which stand south-east of Trajan's column : but they are in such a mutilated state, and so blocked up by houses, that little can be known about them. All that remains is of brick : it was of a semi-circular form, with a covered arcade going round the interior of it. Winkelman does not seem to consider them as baths ; and Desgodetz supposes them to be the remains of a theatre.

RIVER AND BRIDGES.

The Tiber is a stream of which classical recollections are apt to raise too favourable anticipations. When we think of the fleets of the capital of the world sailing up it, and pouring in the treasures of tributary kingdoms, we are likely to attach to it ideas of grandeur and magnificence. But if we come to the Tiber with such expectations, our disappointment will be great. At the

bridge of S. Angelo it is about 315 feet wide, and where it is divided by the island, it may be 450. Dionysius says of it, "The breadth is nearly four "*plethru* [about 400 feet]: it is navigable for "large ships; and the stream is rapid, and full "of eddies." So that though its width is respectable, it is by no means to be reckoned among the large rivers. It was more anciently called Albula, as Virgil tells us,

Tum Reges, asperque immani corpore Tibris,
A quo post Itali fluvium cognomine Tibrim
Diximus: amisit verum vetus Albula nomen.

Æn. viii. 330.

It receives forty-two other streams in its course. The epithet of *flavus*, (yellow,) which is so constantly attached to it by the ancients, is evidently derived from the muddy colour which it always bears. It is subject to very high floods, which happen frequently; and the water sometimes comes as high as the Piazza di Spagna. In the winter of 1819 the Pantheon was under water; which is not uncommon, as it is near to the river; and the drain, which carries off the rain falling from the aperture at top, also lets in the water of the river. A beautiful effect is produced by going to the Pantheon on these occasions by night, and seeing the reflection of the moon upon the water through the opening of the dome. On the Porto di Ripetta are two pillars, which mark the height of the different floods for several years past: the year and month is also recorded, from which it

appears, that they have all happened between the months of November and February. The highest of all was in 1606. The following is the list, though perhaps not complete.

1495 December.	1686 November.
1606 —————	1687 —————
1637 February.	1702 December.
1660 November.	1750 —————
1665 —————	1805 February.

Of the great floods which happened before this account begins, we may collect the following years, 15, 69, 589, 685, 715, 717, 780, 791, 797, and 1345.

The frequency of these floods gave rise to several speculations among the ancients as to the possibility of preventing them. Tacitus^k mentions a project, which was debated in the senate, A. D. 15, for diverting some of the streams which run into the Tiber: but deputies from various towns appeared, who, partly from local interests and partly from superstition, entreated them not to put their scheme into execution. The vast accumulation of soil, by which the surface of modern Rome is raised so many feet above the ancient, must undoubtedly make it less liable to suffer from floods now than formerly.

The Tiber is now crossed by four bridges, that of S. Angelo, Ponte Sisto, and the two which lead in and out of the island, all of which are old. Besides these there are vestiges of three

^k An. lib. i. c. 79.

others, which existed in the time of the ancient Romans. The one highest up the stream is the Ponte S. Angelo, quite flat, of three arches all of the same size, and two smaller ones. There were formerly two other arches still smaller, as is represented on a medal of Adrian. It was built by that emperor, and from him called Pons Ælius, or Adriani. It had its present name from the figure of the angel on the top of the Mausoleum of Adrian, or Castle of S. Angelo. The appearance of this bridge in the time of Leo X. may be seen in a painting in the Trinità de' Monti, where is a portrait of Leo himself, in the character of Gregory, with an angel appearing to him. It was widened and improved by Nicolas V. in 1450, and again repaired by Clement IX. in 1668, who erected the balustrade, and placed ten figures of angels in marble upon it. These figures will not attract much admiration, being heavy and ill executed. Clement VII. put the figures of St. Peter and St. Paul.

Next to this was the Pons Triumphalis, so called, because the generals, who had conquered on the north and west of Rome, passed over this bridge in conducting the triumphs to the Capitol. It is now entirely destroyed, but the piers of it may be distinguished by the agitation of the water. It was the longest of all the bridges, and probably destroyed towards the end of the fourth century, as Prudentius says, that in his time, (A. D. 404,) the only approach to the Vatican was by the Pons Ælius. Julius II. and Alex-

ander VII. had thoughts of repairing this bridge; but they never fulfilled their designs, and in 1812 many pieces of stone were taken from the remaining piers to improve the navigation of the river.

Next to this is the Ponte Sisto of four arches, the date of which is not known. Some ascribe it to Trajan, some to Antoninus Pius. Nardini gives an inscription, which mentions the repair of it by Adrian. Its ancient name was Pons Janiculensis; and its modern one was derived from Sextus IV. who repaired it in 1474. Andrea Fulvio tells us, that it was also called Ponte Aurelio, and Ponte *Rotto*, because it had been broken down in some disturbances. The latter name is now applied to the bridge below the island, which had not suffered by inundations, so as to deserve that title when Fulvio wrote.

The bridge, which leads into the island, is now called *Ponte di quattro Capi*, from four heads of Janus, which were formerly upon it. Its ancient name was Pons Fabricius, from S. F. who built it U. C. 733, (A. C. 21.)¹ as we learn from this inscription.

L. FABRICIVS. C. F. CVR. VIAR
FACIVNDVM. COERAVIT.

But Nardini gives it at much greater length:

¹ It would seem from Dion. Hal. that it was built earlier, in 692. (lib. xxxvii.)

L. FABRICIVS. C. F. CVR. VIAR. FACIVNDVM
 COERAVIT. IDEMQ. PROBAVIT
 Q. LEPIDVS. M. F. M. LOLLIVS. M. F. COS.
 S. C. PROBAVERVNT.

The inscription must have been much more perfect in his time; and if Venuti is correct in saying, that he could read nothing but

IDEMQVE
 PROBAVIT

the words which I have copied above, and which certainly appear at present, must have been added lately. Horace mentions this bridge^m;

Atque a Fabricio non tristem ponte reverti.

It was also called Tarpeius. It consists of two large arches, and a smaller one between them, through which the water only runs, when it is very high.

The bridge, which leads out of the island towards the Janiculum, is called Ponte di S. Bartolomeo, from the neighbouring church, and anciently Pons Cestius. Who this Cestius was is not known. A. Fulvio and L. Fauno mention an inscription dug up near the bridge of S. Angelo, in which VAL. CESTIVS. CVRATOR. RIPARVM. ET. ALVEI. TIBERIS is named in the fourth year of Vespasian. The only inscription on the bridge is,

^m Sat. ii. 3, 36.

PERENNES. INCHOARI. PERFICI. DEDICARIQ

It has also been called *Pons Ferratus*. It was repaired by the emperors Valentinian, Valens, and Gratian, as appears from two long inscriptions on each side. It consists of one large arch and two smaller ones.

Next to this is the *Ponte Rotto*, or as it is sometimes called *Ponte S. Maria*, (either from the Church of *S. Maria Egiziaca*^a, or from an image of the virgin, which was on the bridge.) It was anciently called *Pons Palatinus*. M. Fulvius began it U. C. 574, and it was finished by Scipio Africanus and L. Mummius U. C. 611°. Some antiquaries have also called it *Pons Senatorius*. It was the first stone bridge built in Rome, having suffered by a great inundation, it was repaired in 1550—5 by Julius III. It was again injured shortly after, and Gregory XIII. restored it in 1575. But two arches being carried away by an extraordinary rise of the waters in 1598, it has never been repaired since. Hence it has its present name. There remain now three arches, and two smaller ones between them in case of high floods. It is still passable on foot, a continuation having been made of wood.

^a This church was given by Pius V. to the Armenian Christians, and had its name from an Egyptian saint, who from being a notorious sinner was miraculously converted at Jerusalem, and passed the rest of her days in a desert beyond Jordan. (Martyr. Rom. 2 April.)

° Liv. xl. 51.

Lower down than this, there was formerly the Pons Sublicius, so called from the *sublices*, (said to be a Volscian term,) or wooden piles, of which it was made. This was the first bridge ever constructed in Rome, unless we believe the story preserved by Macrobius^p, that Hercules on his return from Spain constructed a temporary bridge nearly on this spot. Plutarch indeed^q says, that there was a bridge here even before the time of Hercules. The Pons Sublicius was the work of Ancus Martius, the fourth king. It was here that Horatius Cocles withstood the army of Porsena, till the bridge was broken down behind him. It was then repaired, but still in wood, and without any nails, so that it might be taken to pieces when required^r. It was also called Pons Æmilius^s or Pons Lepidi, from Æmilius Lepidus, the prætor, who rebuilt it of stone U. C. 609. It was injured by a flood in the reign of Tiberius, and that emperor restored it. Tacitus tells us^t, that in the time of Otho it was destroyed by a sudden inundation, A. D. 69. It seems to have remained in ruins a long time: at least we have no account of its being repaired till the time of Antoninus Pius, who we learn from Julius Capitolinus had it repaired in marble. It afterwards went by the name of Ponte Marmorato^u. In 780 it was car-

^p Lib. i. c. 2. ^q Probl. ^r Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 23. ^s Juvenal, Sat. vi. 32. Though some take this for another bridge.
^t Hist. lib. i. c. 86. ^u A. Fulvio.

ried away by a flood, and has never since been rebuilt. In 1484 what remained of the piers was taken away, as the navigation of the river was impeded.

Higher up than all these, but two miles from Rome, is the Ponte Molle, as it is now called ; which seems to be a corruption from Pons Milvius or Mulvius, which was the ancient name. The present bridge is sometimes stated to have been built by Æmilius Scaurus, who was censor, U. C. 644. But Livy mentions^{*} a Pons Mulvius in this place in the year 546. It was repaired by Augustus[†].

CIRCUS.

The first games, of which we find any account in the Roman history, are the Ludi Consuales, which were given by Romulus, at the time that the Sabine women were carried off. These were probably in some part of the Campus Martius. Similar games were exhibited by the other kings : but Tarquinius Priscus improved greatly upon them, and established an annual celebration of what were called Ludi Romani, Magni, or Circenses. Livy tells us, that they consisted of equestrian and athletic exercises, (*equi pugiles-que*,) the performers in which came mostly from Etruria. The same king first formed the Circus Maximus in the valley called *Murcia*, between

^{*} Lib. xxvii. c. 51.

[†] Vide p. 7.

the Palatine and Aventine hills. Livy's account of it is as follows²: "Separate places were marked out for the senators and knights, where each might see the games. These were called *fori*. The spectators were on high seats, twelve feet from the ground, supported by wooden poles." Dionysius would lead us to think, that Livy had rather represented Tarquin's Circus in too mean a light. He tells us³, that Tarquin was the first who erected covered seats, the spectators having formerly stood upon wooden planks. He also divided the whole into thirty *curiæ*. The situation of the Circus Maximus is marked out by nature, otherwise scarcely any thing remains. The curved end was towards the south; the straight end, where were the Carceres, was towards the river. The walls, which surrounded it, and along which were the seats for the spectators, are entirely gone. All that can now be traced is a portion of the bottom of the wall at the curved end.

According to Dionysius, the Circus was $3\frac{1}{2}$ *stadia* long, and 4 *plethra* (about 400 feet) wide. It contained 150000 people. Pliny makes it only 3 *stadia* long, containing 260000. It is difficult to reconcile these statements. It might be thought, that the two authors were speaking of the building at different periods, and that the smaller number of people was contained in the original Circus, built by Tarquin. But Dionysius uses

² Lib. i. c. 35.

³ Lib. iii. c. 68.

the present tense, as if he was describing the building of his own time; and if it were otherwise, the Circus of the greater length would be made to contain the smaller number of people. P. Victor says, that it contained room for 385000 persons. Dionysius proceeds to state, that round three sides of it there was a stream of water, called *Euripus*, 10 feet in depth and width. Behind this was a triple portico: the lower seats were of stone, the upper of wood. The circumference of the whole measured eight *stadia*. Round it on the outside there was another single portico, with shops in it and rooms over them; through which there were passages and staircases, leading to the seats of the Circus.

It was rebuilt by J. Cæsar^b. The part towards Mount Aventine was burnt in the time of Tiberius^c. The sides also suffered by fire in the reign of Domitian, who repaired them with stone^d. It was enlarged by Trajan, so as to contain 5000 more persons^e, and repaired by Antoninus Pius^f. Elagabalus ornamented it with gold and some beautiful columns. He also restored the pavement with *chrysocolla*. What this was we learn from Pliny^g; and Suetonius tells us^h, that the Arena was strewed with it and vermillion.

By the help of the Circus of Caracalla, which

^b Suet. c. 39. Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

^c Tacit. An. lib. vi.

c. 45.

^d Suet. c. 5.

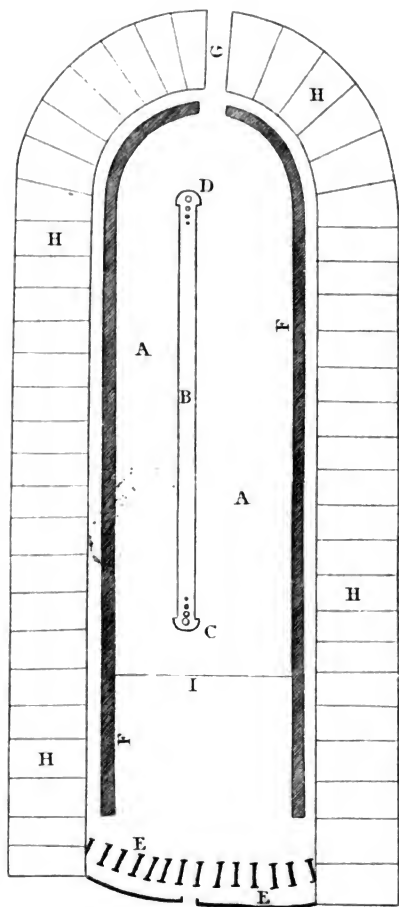
^e Dio, lib. lxxviii.

^f J. Capitolinus.

^g Lib. xxxiii. c. 26.

^h Calig. c. 18.





- | | | |
|----------------|-----------------|-----------------------|
| A. Arena. | D. Second Meta. | G. Porta Triumphalis. |
| B. Spina. | E. Carceres. | H. Seats. |
| C. First Meta. | F. Euripus. | I. Linea. |

still remains in great part, we are enabled to form a tolerably good idea of the ancient Circus, and it is chiefly from this that the annexed sketch has been made. From this figure it will be perceived, that the Circus was of an oblong form, straight at one end, and curved at the other, the length being about three times the breadth, or somewhat more. At the straight end were the *Carceres*. There were here thirteen openings or *Ostia*. That in the middle was larger than the rest, by which the horsemen and their chariots entered. On each side of this were six apertures, called *Carceres*, where the chariots stood before they started. We find various names given to these places, such as *Oppidum*, *Repagula*, *Alba linea*, *Cryptæ*, *Claustra*. They were called *Oppidum*, because anciently there were turrets and battlements upon them¹. Livy says², that the *Carceres* were first placed in the Consulate of L. Papirius Crassus and L. Pl. Venno, U. C. 425, by which he perhaps means, that the *Repagula* or barriers were first placed in that year. Originally the *Carceres* were of wood or stone: Claudius made them of marble³. The *Repagula* were not lowered, so that the chariots passed over them; but they turned upon hinges, as we may learn from Ovid,

Utque fores nondum versati cardinis acer

Nunc pede, nunc ipsa fronte lacessit equus.

Trist. v. 9, 29.

¹ Varro, lib. iv.

² Lib. viii. c. 20.

³ Suet. c. 21.

And from Manilius,

Ut cum laxato fugerunt cardine claustra. v. 76.

In an old bas-relief in the Farnese Palace, the *Repagula* are represented exactly as folding doors. Dionysius says, that they all opened at once; and we learn the same from Cassiodorus^m, “Bissena Ostia ad XII. signa posuerunt. Hæc, “ab Hermulis funibus demissis, subita æqualitate “panduntur.” In front of the Carceres, at each extremity, was a figure of Mercury holding a rope. Previous to the games commencing this rope was loose, and lay upon the ground: the people at first occupied the whole of the area, consulting fortune-tellers, or engaged in other amusements: the raising and tightening of the rope was a signal for them to retire to their seats. Ovid alludes to this,

Quid frustra refugis? cogit nos linea jungi:

Hæc ex lege loci commoda Circus habet.

Amor. lib. iii. el. 2, 19.

When this rope was once more lowered, the Carceres were opened and the chariots started. A similar line was extended before the Carceres at the Greek games.

The person, at whose expence the games were given, sat over the middle entrance. It was from hence that the signal was made for the chariots to start. At first torches were used;

^m Lib. iii. Var.

but afterwards a napkin or cloth was lowered. It was the business of the consul to make the signal, and in his absence the prætor gave it. In the time of the emperors it was the prætor's office: he let a napkin fall from the balcony; and it is said, that the custom arose from an order of Nero, who was dining, and the people became so impatient for the games to begin, that he ordered his own napkin to be thrown down as a signal. Hence Juvenal's expression,

Interea Megalesiacæ spectacula mappa.

Sat. xi. 191.

A trumpet also sounded, as at the Olympic games.

The drivers wore different colours, whence arose the different factions, which divided not only the Circus, but the whole city, and raged so furiously afterwards in Constantinople. At first there were only two colours, the white and the red: two more were added, green and blue, which gave the names of *Albata*, *Russata*, *Prasina*, and *Veneta*, to the different factions. Domitian added two more, *Aurata* and *Purpurea*. One chariot started from each faction; so that only six chariots started at once, and before Domitian's time only four. Cassiodorus also, who wrote about A. D. 500, mentions only four colours. It is difficult to explain why there were twelve Carceres, if only six chariots started. At the Greek races they set out from each side

alternately^a, and sometimes as many as ten chariots entered the lists at once. It is probable, that the Romans borrowed the number of the Carceres from the Greeks, though they did not imitate them in the use of them. For it is certain, that at Rome the same six Carceres were always used, viz. those which had the middle entrance, or *Janua Magistratum*, at the left hand. It is evident, from an inspection of the plan, that these were the most advantageous places for starting from, as the chariots ran, keeping the *Metæ* on their left. So also of the different Carceres, that which was nearest to the *Janua Magistratum* was the best, and was called the first. It was also called *A Pompâ*, because the processions entered by the *Janua Magistratum*. The others were numbered 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6, beginning from this. Lots were drawn for the places, as at the Greek games. The prætor shook the lots in an urn: and the chariot, which took the first place, was called *Summa*, the sixth *Ima*. An ancient inscription mentions this custom, DIO-CLES SYMMA QVADRIGA ET OSTIO QVARTO MISSVS VICIT.

At the Olympic games the chariots ran twelve times round the course. At Rome they went only seven times round it: but as there was a *Meta* at each extremity of the course, it has been doubted whether each *Meta* was passed seven

^a Pausan. Eliac. lib. ii.

times, or whether seven *Metæ* were to be passed during the race. It seems probable, however, that the chariots actually ran seven times round the course; and that which arrived first at the *Meta* nearest to the Carceres won the race; or rather that which arrived first at a white line traced in chalk upon the ground, and reaching from one side of the Circus to the other. Cassiodorus describes this line*, “Alba linea non
 “longe ab Ostiis in utrumque podium, quasi re-
 “gula directa, perducitur: ut quadrijugis progre-
 “dientibus inde certamen oriretur, ne dum sem-
 “per propere conantur elidere, spectandi volup-
 “tatem viderentur populis abrogare.” From these words it is evident that the line was drawn between the Carceres and the first *Meta*, and the spectators considered the race to have begun not so much when the chariots first started, as when they reached this line. It served also, as already stated, to mark the winning chariot; for as they began the race on one side of the Spina and ended it on the other, the same line would naturally serve each purpose. Both uses of this line gave rise to proverbial expressions. *A lineâ* became a common phrase for the commencement of any thing: and the poets will supply us with abundance of instances, where the *ultima linea rerum* is alluded to. The terms *Calx* and *Creta* also obtained the same significations, because the line was marked with *chalk*, as Pliny tells us†,

* Var. lib. iii. epist. 51.

† Lib. xxxv. c. 58.

“ Est et vilissima (Creta) qua Circum præducere
 “ ad victoriæ notam instituerunt majores.” Hence
 we may understand, why in the same passages
 some manuscripts read *Meta* and others *Creta*;
 for though the chalk line was not actually the
 same thing as the last goal, yet it was close to it,
 and at the end of the race it was the goal at
 which the contenders wished to arrive. Thus
 we have in Seneca¹, “ Hanc, quam nunc in Circo
 “ *cretam* vocamus calcem antiqui dicebant.”
 Some MSS. read *Metam*. It is the same with
 Propertius², “ Hæc spatii ultima *Creta* meis:”
 the common reading is *Meta*; but the former is
 probably right, because it is much more likely
 that a person not understanding the meaning of
Creta should alter it to *Meta*. We have the same
 idea in Lucretius, (vi. 91.)

Tu mihi supremæ præscripta ad candida calcis
 Currenti spatium præmonstra, callida Musa.

Each race of six chariots was called *Missus*:
 and of these there were twenty-five in the course
 of the day. The last was called *Ærarius*, be-
 cause the expence was defrayed by subscription:
 but it was afterwards left off, and there were
 only twenty-four races in the course of the day.
 Some emperors chose to give more than twenty-
 five, in which case the chariots generally did not
 go seven times round the course. To prevent

¹ Epist. 108. ² Lib. iv. el. 2. 58.

mistakes, little pillars were erected near the *Metæ*, on which an egg was placed every time, that the chariots had come to the end of the course; so that the people could always tell how many times they had gone round. Dio says¹, that Agrippa first instituted this custom: but it would seem from Livy², that it was much older.

The ground which the chariots occupied immediately upon leaving the *Carceres*, and before they reached the first *Meta*, seems to have been called *spatium*. Tertullian says³, “*lineam ex-
“ tremam habet, si determinatur, quia spatiorum
“ initium et finis lineis notabatur.*” This may illustrate a passage in Virgil, where the word *spatia* occurs,

Ut cum carceribus sese effudere quadrigæ
Addunt se in *spatia*.

Georg. i. 512.

And in describing a foot race, he says,

signoque repente
Corripiunt *spatia* audito limenque relinquunt.

ÆN. v. 315.

Limen is probably here put for *linea*, as it is in Statius,

Ut ruit, atque æquum summisit regula limen,
Corripuere leves *spatium*.

Thebaid. lib. vi.

¹ Lib. xlix.

² Lib. xli. c. 27.

³ Adv. Hermog. c. 3.

We are apt in English to confound the terms Carceres and Meta, translating both by *goal*, which is a great mistake. It is singular, that in an ancient writer * we find the same confusion,

Sic cum frenatos astringit *meta* jugales
Ordineque emissos jussit deducere Prætor,
Ire volunt omnes primi.

The chariots were drawn by two, three, or four horses, but generally by four. Augustus introduced six, and some had seven. Nero drove as many as ten, but this was at Olympia'. We find mention of elephants being yoked, and camels, stags, dogs, tigers, lions, &c.* Sometimes also single horses ran; and we read of *equi desultorii*, where the rider managed two horses, and leaped from one to the other. In some ancient bas-reliefs we may observe persons on horseback accompanying the chariots as they ran; their use seems to have been, to supply the drivers with any thing which they might want. The charioteers were at first slaves, freedmen, or strangers: but afterwards the nobles amused themselves with driving publicly in the Circus, and several emperors distinguished themselves by it.

The line which occupies the middle of the Circus is the *spina*, round which the chariots ran, keeping it always on the left hand. It was a brick wall, four feet high, and at the end next to the Carceres twelve feet broad: towards the

* Apol. Excid. Hierosol. lib. ii. † Suet. c. 24. ‡ Suet.
in Nerone. Dio. Lamprid. in Elagab.

other extremity it became narrower. At each end was a *meta*, round which the chariots turned; and their object was to go as near as possible to these without touching them. The *metæ* were originally of wood, and occasionally removed, when the whole area of the Circus was wanted for other purposes. Claudius had them made of marble, and gilt. Their form was conical, or, as Ovid says, like that of a cypress, "*metas imitata cupressus*." Ancient sculptures represent them as divided into three, or rather like three cones compressed together, so that there were three distinct summits to each *meta*, with an oval ornament at the top. The *meta* nearest to the *carceres* was called *murcia*. Under this was a circular temple, sacred to the god Consus, to whom Romulus dedicated the games, at which the Sabine women were carried off. He is supposed to have been a God of Silence; but some make him the same as Neptune. From him the games were called *Ludi Consuales*, till the time of Tarquinius Priscus.

There were other appendages to the *spina* besides the *metæ*. It has been already mentioned, that there were little pillars, on which eggs were placed, to mark the number of times the chariots had gone round. Figures of dolphins were used for the same purpose. Obelisks were also placed upon the *spina*. In the Circus Maximus were two, one dedicated to the sun, 132 feet high;

* *Metamorph.* x. 106.

the other to the moon, 88 feet high. There was also generally a figure of Cybele, drawn by lions. When the race was finished, the victor ascended the *spina* by some steps, and received his prize, which consisted of money, or a crown, or palm-branches. It appears from Cassiodorus, that a palm was the prize for athletic contests^b, and for chariot races^c. When the games were over, he went out by the *Porta Triumphalis*, which was at the curved end of the Circus.

It will be observed, that the *spina* is not so near the carceres as it is to the *Porta Triumphalis*, nor does it stand in the middle of the Circus. In that of Caracalla, which is still perfect, the *spina* is thirty-six feet nearer to one side than it is to the other. The reason is this: as the chariots started from the carceres, and were to go round the course, leaving the *spina* to the left, at the time they reached the first *meta* they would be nearly all abreast; it was therefore more necessary that they should have room to pass each other at this part of the course, than during all the rest of the race. Consequently the *spina* was not placed quite in the middle; because by the time the chariots turned the second *meta*, some must have taken the lead so decidedly, that the same space would not be required for them to run abreast, as at the beginning.

The chariot race was by no means the only

^b Var. lib. ii. epist. 28.

^c Var. lib. iii. epist. 51.

amusement which the Circus afforded. We find mention of seven others in ancient authors ; processions, gymnastics, *Ludus Trojæ*, chaces of wild beasts, combats of horse and foot, *Numachia*, and sometimes stage-plays. Of these the procession was the first amusement in the course of the day, and was either sacred or military. Next followed the chariot and foot races ; after which were the gymnastic exhibitions. The passage in which Virgil describes the *Ludus Trojæ*^d, is too well known to require insertion. The custom of celebrating it was revived by Cæsar. The sons of knights alone acted in it ; and the leader was called *Princeps Juventutis*.

The exhibition of wild beasts was one of the most popular amusements at Rome. When amphitheatres were introduced, the Circus was not so much used for this purpose as before : but still there were hunts in the Circus till a late period. The number of wild beasts killed upon these occasions is truly wonderful ; and if the accounts were not well attested, we might be incredulous as to the possibility of so many being supplied. It was in the course of the second Punic war that wild beasts were first exhibited at all, as before that time there was a decree of the senate, prohibiting the importation of beasts from Africa. At first they were only shewn to the people, and not hunted or killed. The earliest account we have of such an exhibition was U. C. 502, when

^d *Æn.* v. 579—603.

one hundred and forty-two elephants were produced, which were taken in Sicily. Pliny, who gives us this information^c, tells us, that he could not ascertain whether they were put to death in the Circus, or merely exhibited there. But these animals had been seen in Rome twenty-three years before, in the triumph of M. C. Dentatus over Pyrrhus^f. The same author says^g, that lions first appeared in any number U. C. 652: but these probably were not turned loose. In the year 661, Sylla brought forward one hundred, when he was prætor. In the year 696, besides lions, elephants, bears, &c. one hundred and fifty panthers were shewn for the first time. When Pompey dedicated his theatre, there was the greatest exhibition of beasts ever known. There were seventeen elephants, six hundred lions, which were killed in the course of five days; four hundred and ten panthers, &c. &c. A rhinoceros also appeared for the first time; a strange beast, called *chaus*, or *cepos*, and a *lupus cervarius* from Gaul. This was U. C. 701. The art of taming these beasts was carried to such perfection, that M. Antony actually yoked them to his carriage^h. Cæsar, in his third dictatorship, U. C. 708, shewed a vast number of wild beasts, among which were four hundred lions and a cameleopard. The latter animal is thus described by Plinyⁱ: "The Ethiopians call it nabis:

^c Lib. viii. c. 6. ^f Ibid. ^g C. 16. ^h Plin. lib. viii. c. 21. Plutarch. ⁱ Lib. viii. c. 27. He is copied word for word by Solinus, Polyhist. c. 32.

“ in the neck it resembles a horse, in the feet
 “ and legs an ox, a camel in the head, and in
 “ colour it is red with white spots.” Dio is still
 more minute^k; “ This animal resembles a camel,
 “ except that it has not the same proportion in
 “ its limbs : the hind parts are lower, and it rises
 “ gradually from the tail : the fore legs also serve
 “ to elevate the rest of the body, and its neck is
 “ peculiarly high. In colour it is spotted, like a
 “ leopard.” A tiger was exhibited for the first
 time at the dedication of the Theatre of Marcellus, U. C. 743. It was kept in a cage. Claudius afterwards shewed four together^l. Titus exhibited five thousand beasts of various kinds in one day^m. Adrian had one thousand beasts slaughtered on his birth-day; and Commodus killed several thousands with his own handⁿ. The emperor Gordian, besides shewing one hundred African beasts, and one thousand bears, in one day, devised a spectacle of quite a new kind: he had a temporary wood planted in the Circus, and turned into it two hundred stags, (*cervi palmati*,) thirty wild horses, one hundred wild sheep, ten elks, one hundred Cyprian bulls, three hundred ostriches, thirty wild asses, one hundred and fifty wild boars, two hundred *ibices*, and two hundred deer. He allowed all the people to enter the wood, and take what they pleased^o. Probus imitated him in his idea of a wood. Vo-

^k Lib. xliii.^l Plin. lib. viii. c. 25.^m Suet. c. 7.ⁿ Lamprid.^o Jul. Capitolinus.

piscus describes it thus, "Arbores validæ per
 " milites radicitus vulsæ connixis late longeque
 " trabibus affixæ sunt, terra deinde superinjecta."
 There were turned in one thousand ostriches,
 one thousand stags, one thousand boars, one
 thousand deer, one thousand *ibices*, wild sheep,
 and other grazing animals, as many as could be
 fed or found. The people were then let in, and
 took what they wished. I have selected those
 instances which appear most remarkable, but
 every reign would furnish us with incredible ac-
 counts. We find mention in Pliny^p of the boa
 constrictor: he gives it the name of *boa*, and
 tells us that Claudius had one killed in the Va-
 tican Circus, in the inside of which a child was
 found entire. Suetonius mentions another^q, which
 measured fifty cubits in length: but this was ex-
 hibited in the Forum. Enough has been stated
 to shew that the ancients had much greater ac-
 quaintance with the wild beasts of Asia and
 Africa than the moderns have. I will close this
 account, which is already too long, with the cor-
 respondence of Cicero and Cælius. When Cicero
 went out proconsul of Cilicia, Cælius writes to
 him, "Fere literis omnibus tibi de pantheris
 " scripsi. Turpe tibi erit Patiscum Curioni de-
 " cem Pantheras misisse, te non multis partibus
 " plures: quas ipsas Curio mihi et alias Afri-
 " canas decem donavit, ne putes illum tantum
 " prædia rustica dare scire. Tu, si modo memo-

^p Lib. viii. c. 14.

^q Vita Augusti.

“ria teneres, et Cybiratas arcessieris, itemque in
 “Pamphiliam literas miseris, (nam ibi plures
 “capi aiunt,) quod voles efficies.” To this the
 proconsul replies, “De pantheris per eos, qui
 “venari solent, agitur mandato meo diligenter,
 “sed mira paucitas est, et eas, quæ sunt, valde
 “aiunt queri, quod nihil cuiquam insidiarum in
 “mea provincia nisi sibi fiat. Itaque constituisse
 “dicuntur in Cariam ex nostra provincia dece-
 “dere. Sed tamen sedulo fit, et in primis a Pa-
 “tisco.”

The beasts were made to fight either with one another, or with men. The latter were called *bestiarii*, and occasionally fought without any weapons. Pliny calls them *noxii*, culprits^t. Means were used to excite the fury of the wild animals by applying fire, and lashing them with whips. The elephants were intoxicated with wine and incense; but Ælian says^t, that it was not wine from the grape, but a liquor made from rice and reeds. Cloths were used to irritate the lions and bears; and wild boars had a particular objection to white cloths^u. Balls were also thrown at them to provoke them. Round three sides of the Circus was a stream of water, called Euripus, the principal object of which was to prevent the elephants and other beasts from coming to the people.

Besides the battles in which wild beasts were engaged, there were other sanguinary spectacles,

^t Epist. Famil. lib. ii. ep. 11. ^t Lib. xxxiii. c. 16. ^t Lib. xiii. ^u Vid. Seneca de Ira, lib. iii. c. 30. Plin. lib. viii.

in which gladiators either contended in single combat, or large bodies of horse and foot fought with each other. It appears from the chronicle of Cassiodorus, that athletic games were first exhibited in the year of Rome 567; and Livy tells us the same thing^x; but by the term *athletæ* we are not to understand simply gladiators, for the same author tells us, that they were introduced seventy-eight years before, U. C. 489^y. The emperor Gordian had sometimes five hundred pairs of gladiators exhibited in one day, and never less than one hundred and fifty^z. In Cæsar's games we find five hundred foot and three hundred horse engaged together; and twenty elephants were also introduced; upon which occasion the *metæ* were removed to give more room. From these two examples we may see in what number human victims were sacrificed, that some great man might be popular, and the Roman rabble amused. In the days of Nero or Elagabalus, a lion or an elephant was surely a much nobler animal than a Roman emperor; and it may be doubted whether a gladiator was not much fitter to govern a nation. Nero was not satisfied with having slaves as gladiators, but he made thirty knights destroy each other in that capacity; and at another time four hundred senators and six hundred knights engaged by his order. We read even of women fighting in the Circus.

^x Lib. xxxix. c. 22.^y Epit. lib. 16.^z Jul. Capitolinus.

The naval engagements were sometimes exhibited in the Circus Maximus, which could easily be filled with water. Calpurnius, after alluding to the woods which I have already mentioned as being introduced into the Circus, says,

Nec solum nobis sylvestria cernere monstra
Contigit, æquoreos ego cum certantibus ursis
Spectavi vitulos, et equorum nomine dignum
Sed deforme pecus.

Some of the emperors erected buildings on purpose, which were called *Naumachiæ*. Two of the largest were built by Cæsar and Augustus. Suetonius, speaking of the former, says^a, “a lake was dug in the form of a shell, in which “*Biremes*, *Triremes*, and *Quadrirèmes*, representing the Tyrian and Egyptian fleets, engaged, with a vast number of men on board.” It was filled up after Cæsar’s death. The *Naumachia* of Augustus was on the other side of the Tiber. Caligula constructed one^b, as did Domitian and others. That of Domitian was on the site of the present *Piazza di Spagna*. Elagabalus upon one occasion filled the Euripus with wine, and had naval exhibitions performed in it^c.

Stage-plays were but seldom represented in the Circus. That they were so occasionally, we learn from Suetonius, who says, that Augustus had them exhibited there^d.

^a C. 39. ^b Dio, lib. lix. ^c Spartianus. ^d C. 43.

For many years the senators and common people sat together without any order. Atilius Serranus and L. Scribonius, who were *Ædiles* U. C. 558, appointed particular seats for the senators^c. Augustus ordered the senators and knights to sit separately^f; and Claudius appointed a particular place for the senators, as Nero did for the knights. Livy also says, that the people had no accommodation for sitting till the time of the Scipios: but it appears from Dionysius, that they had it from the days of Tarquin. From a passage in Suetonius^g, it might be thought that money was paid for admission to some of the seats. His words are, “*Inquietatus fremitu gra-
tuita in Circo loca de média nocte occupantium,
omnes fustibus obegit.*” If *gratuita loca* mean seats, for which nothing was paid, it would certainly follow, that there were some seats, which were not of that description. But we should not build too much upon a single expression, and every other passage seems to speak of the Circus, as a place of free admission. The consuls, prætors, and all those officers, who were entitled to preside, had seats over the middle gate of the Carceres, whence it was called *Janua Magistratuum*. Some magistrates also had seats near the first meta. It appears from Cassiodorus^h, that particular individuals had fixed seats (like private boxes) belonging to them, which in some cases descended to their children.

^c Liv. lib. xxxiv. c. 54. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4. ^f Dio, lib. lv.

^g Caligula. ^h Varr. lib. iv. Epist. 42.

Nor were the magistrates the only persons provided with seats. Arnobius¹ speaking of the general passion for these spectacles complains, that the Priests, the Pontifex Maximus, the Augurs, and even the Vestal Virgins, were in the habit of attending. The eagerness with which all parties flocked to the games, is almost incredible. The passage just quoted from Suetonius proves what it was in the time of Caligula; and Ammianus, who wrote in the fourth century, gives the following lively description of it in his days. “The people spend all their earnings in drinking and gaming, in spectacles, amusements, and shews. The Circus Maximus is their temple, their dwelling-house, their public meeting, and all their hopes. In the *fora*, the streets, and the squares, multitudes assemble together and dispute, some defending one thing and some another. The oldest take the privilege of their age, and cry out in the temples and *fora*, that the Republic must fall, if in the approaching games the person whom they support does not win the prize, and first pass the goal. When the wished-for day of the equestrian games arrives, before sun-rise all run headlong to the spot, passing in swiftness the chariots that are to run; upon the success of which their wishes are so divided, that many pass the night without sleep.” Lactantius confirms this account², and says, that the people

¹ Lib. iv. contra Gentes.² Lib. vi.

often quarrelled and fought from their great eagerness.

These descriptions would be applicable to the Roman people at any period, from the age of J. Cæsar to the time in which they were written. It has been already stated, that Pliny makes the Circus Maximus capable of containing 260000 persons, in which Sextus Rufus agrees with him. Publius Victor estimates the number at 385000. Juvenal says, *Totam hodie Romam Circus capit*¹. When the different amusements of the Circus ceased, it would not be easy exactly to define. There is no mention of processions or *naumachia* after the time of Constantine. We know, that he forbade the combats of gladiators^m: but the custom must have been afterwards revived, as Honorius found it necessary to prohibit the combats of gladiators by a special edictⁿ. This was about the beginning of the fifth century. The combats of men and beasts seem to have lasted till Justinian's days: but Procopius, speaking of a Circus near the Vatican^o, mentions it as a place then in disuse, in which he says, *formerly* single combats were exhibited. This was about the year 546. It is certain, that such bloody spectacles existed in the time of Theodoric, about 500 A. D. for we have in Cassiodorus^p a letter from that king to the consul Maximus, in which he gives an interesting account of them, while he reprobates the custom extremely. It is

¹ Sat. xi. 195.

^m Cassiodor. Hist. Eccles. lib. i. c. 9.

ⁿ Ibid. lib. x. c. 2. ^o Lib. iv. c. 1. ^p Var. lib. v. epist. 42.

probable, that the chariot and horse-races continued much longer: the Hippodrome at Constantinople was certainly employed for this purpose at the time the Venetians took it in 1204.

CIRCUS OF CARACALLA AND OTHERS.

The description given above of the different parts of the Roman Circus is taken from ancient authors, and from the actual appearance of what still remains of a Circus out of the Porta S. Sebastiano. This is generally called the Circus of Caracalla, though not upon any good authority. The outer wall remains almost entire, but the seats are gone, except that by having fallen in they have left a kind of terrace along the whole length of the walls. In walking along this terrace, I observed a regular succession of round holes in the rubbish at a distance of eight paces from each other. There must have been something, that broke the continuity of the seats, so that when they fell in, they left a vacant space in these places. They may have been the staircases, by which the people ascended, and if they were circular, they would exactly answer to the holes which I have observed. If they were of stone, which is most probable, the steps have all been carried off, and that would explain still better why a circular aperture should be left in the rubbish. There is also a curious thing to be observed in the walls, where they have been broken;

which is, there are several large earthen vessels inclosed within the brickwork. It has been conjectured, that they were used to expedite the building, or to lessen the expence; neither of which reasons seem adequate. Others have said, that their purpose was to lighten the building. Each pot might be considered a kind of arch supporting the masonry above; and they themselves being hollow, the entire mass supported by the arch below was less than if the whole were solid. Some support is given to this opinion by the fact, that in the baths of Caracalla the roofs which remain are partly composed of pumice-stone¹. Yet after all it seems quite certain, that hollow vessels were placed in the walls of theatres for sake of the sound. Both the voice of the actor, and the applause given by the audience, was made louder by it. Vitruvius' expressly says, that bronze vessels were placed under the seats, constructed upon mathematical principles, to increase the sound of the voice coming from the stage, and to carry it with a clearer and sweeter tone to the audience. He explains the whole theory of these metallic vessels, but says at the same time, that he could not produce any instance of their being so applied in any theatre in Rome; but in other cities of Italy and in Greece they were common. According to him², earthen vessels were occasionally sub-

¹ Spence's Anecdotes, p. 94. ² Lib. i. c. 1. ³ Lib. v. c. 5.

stituted for those of metal, for sake of cheapness. Aristotle¹ speaks of such earthen vessels; and such probably is the meaning of the passage in Juvenal, “*Audiat ille Testarum crepitus*”². In the present instance they were underneath the seats, on which the spectators sat, and above the covered arcade, where the people walked. The same thing may be observed in several ruins about Rome. We may observe generally, that the ancients paid great attention to the diffusion of sound in constructing their theatres; and by combining the principles of music and mathematics, as Vitruvius observes³, they contrived to make the actors audible in very large theatres, where there was no covering. In the remains of the theatre at Taormina (Taurominium) in Sicily, I have stood on the upper seat of all, and not only heard distinctly the sound of a voice speaking from the stage, but even the tearing of a piece of paper sounded as if quite near.

The length of the Circus of Caracalla is 1678 feet, the breadth 435. It is calculated, that it could have contained 20000 spectators. The Spina may be traced by the ground being considerably raised, and it is about 36 feet nearer to the left side of the Circus than to the right. An eminence may be observed at each end, where were the metæ; and under that, which is nearest to the Carceres, are some remains of the temple of Consus. The obelisk, which is now in the

¹ Problem. lib. ii. p. 92. ad Sylburg.

² Sat. xi. 170.

³ Lib. v. c. 3.

Piazza Navona, stood formerly upon this Spina. Nothing can be made out as to the plan of the Carceres, but they seem to have gone rather in a curved than in a straight line. My first impression upon observing this was, that the left extremity of them was advanced farther into the Circus, because the chariots, which started from that side, would otherwise have a great disadvantage. But as the writers upon this subject decide, that the right hand side of the Carceres was alone used, I have followed their opinion in the above description, and perhaps the curved appearance may have been from the ruined state of the building. Fabretti however (in his work upon Trajan's Column) asserts, that the Carceres were in a curved line, in order to give all the chariots an equal chance. At either extremity of the Carceres are two towers, and in the side-wall on the left hand is a similar eminence. On the right hand there seems to have been very little wall, which was owing to the ground being much higher on that side, which was taken advantage of to form the seats¹. What wall there is here, is not straight.

The next Circus in point of antiquity to the Circus Maximus was that of Flaminius, built by the consul of that name, U. C. 531. But Livy mentions a Circus called Apollinaris in the Prata Flaminia much earlier, where he is treating of the year 306². This probably was of wood, and that

¹ Pocock states this to be the case with the Circus at Ephesus.

² Lib. iii.

of the Consul Flaminius succeeded it. It is however rather doubtful, who gave name to this Circus. Plutarch says it was an older Flaminus, who left an estate to the people, to supply the games. Varro only removes the difficulty by saying, that the Circus took its name from the Prata Flaminia. It stood in the Campus Martius, without the city, and no trace of it now remains. By coupling a passage of Pliny with one of Festus we may learn, that it was not far from the Theatre of Pompey. The former says^a, that *Cn. Octavius* about the year of Rome 590 erected a double *portico* (i. e. a colonnade, with a double row of columns) at the *Circus Flaminius*. Festus, after describing the Portico of Octavia, which was near to the Theatre of Marcellus, says that there was another *Portico* near the *Theatre of Pompey*, built by *Cn. Octavius*. He adds, that it was burnt down, and rebuilt by Augustus. L. Fauno gives the situation of the Circus Flaminius with great precision. According to him, the length of it was from *San. Salvatore in Palco* to the *Palazzo Mattei*: the width from the *Torre delle Citrangole* to the street called *Botteghe oscure*.

In the Piazza Navona we may trace the exact form of the Circus Agonalis, supposed to have been built by the Emperor Alexander Pius. The modern name also may easily be traced, as a corruption from the ancient one. From *Agona-*

^a Lib. xxxiv. c. 7.

lis or in *Agone* it came to be called *Nagona*, as it is written by J. Laurus. From *Nagona* the transition to *Navona* is not difficult. It now forms a fine open space surrounded by buildings, in which the outline of the Circus is observed, and even the round end is not lost. On some occasions chariot-races are still performed here in the ancient fashion: and on Saturdays and Sundays in the month of August it is covered with water, to provide a remedy against the intense heat. In the middle of the area are three fountains: that by Bernini is among the finest in Rome.

Between the Quirinal and Pincian hills was another Circus, that of *Flora*, in the gardens of Sallust, of which nothing now is to be traced, and the whole gardens form a melancholy assemblage of desolation. The Egyptian Obelisk, which is placed in front of the Church of *la Trinità de' Monti*, stood in this Circus. As Alaric entered Rome by the *Porta Salara*, the destruction of all the buildings in this quarter is well accounted for; and it might be thought, that nothing had been done to repair the damage since that time. A long line of wall of very ancient appearance is to be seen above the valley; which from its being built with arches has the look of being intended to support the soil, which rises behind it to a considerable height. It is said however to have formed part of the old walls, which ran in this direction, before Aurelian extended the circuit of them.

The Circus of Nero stood partly on the site of the Basilica of S. Peter, and was destroyed by Constantine, when he built the old church, A. D. 324. A plan of the Circus, shewing its situation with respect to the ancient and modern church, may be seen in a work of Bonanni^b. The curved end was towards the east, and reached nearly to the steps leading up to the church. The Carceres nearly coincided with the farthest end of the Tribune. One side of it did not interfere with Constantine's building; the other was entirely built over, so that about half the area was occupied. Of the four pillars supporting the cupola, that at the south-west stands upon the site of the wall, where were the seats of the spectators. The Obelisk, which is now in front of S. Peter's, stood upon the Spina; and its actual position is marked by a square stone in the passage leading from the sacristy to the choir. It was moved in 1586 by Sextus V. Bonanni, after comparing several contradictory statements, conjectures the whole length of the Circus to have been 1240 palms.

There was another Circus in the neighbourhood of the Vatican, which may still be traced from any spot commanding this view. It is probably this which Procopius speaks of, as quoted above, where he mentions it as existing in his time, but in disuse. It also seems to be that which Andrea Fulvio notices, when after describ-

^b *Historia Templi Vaticani*, c. 6.

ing the Circus of Nero, he adds, that not far from the Mole of Adrian a small Circus could be traced, of a black and hard stone, which was almost destroyed, and little known.

We read also of the Circus of Adrian, near his tomb, and another out of the Porta Nævïa.

AMPHITHEATRES.

The Amphitheatres and Theatres of Rome were at first built only of wood, and frequently taken to pieces after each representation. It was not till the time of Pompey, that a permanent theatre was built, as will be mentioned hereafter. Nero, wanting to give an exhibition of games, erected an enormous amphitheatre of wood in the Campus Martius, which was finished in a year^c. But there was already one there of stone, and J. Cæsar had also erected one of wood^d. The first built within the city was by Statilius Taurus, who was a great friend of Augustus. Dio however says^e, that this was in the Campus Martius. It was burnt in the time of Nero. Pliny mentions a most extraordinary contrivance in the formation of an amphitheatre: he tells us^f, that Curio built two theatres close to each other, but looking different ways; when the people had taken their seats, both were moved round by some machinery, and so formed one amphitheatre. The original words are worth inserting: "Thea-

^c Tacit. An. lib. xiii. c. 31. Suet. c. 12.

^d Dio, lib. xliii.

^e Lib. li. ^f Lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

“ tra duo juxta fecit amplissima ex ligno, cardi-
 “ num singulorum versatili suspensa libramento:
 “ in quibus utrisque, antemeridiano ludorum spec-
 “ taculo edito, inter sese aversis, ne invicem
 “ obstreperent scenæ, et repente circumactis, ut
 “ contra starent, postremo jam die, discedenti-
 “ bus tabulis et cornibus inter se coeuntibus, fa-
 “ ciebat amphitheatrum, et gladiatorum specta-
 “ cula edebat, ipsum magis auctoratum populum
 “ Romanum circumferens.” Caligula began an-
 other amphitheatre within the city, but it was
 not finished^g. Trajan also built one in the
 Campus Martius, but it was pulled down by
 Adrian^h. Of the Amphitheatrum Castrense men-
 tion has been made already. All such buildings
 however were far eclipsed in grandeur of dimen-
 sions by the

COLOSSEUM.

This building is spelt sometimes Colosseum,
 or Coloseum, and sometimes Coliseum. But the
 former is adopted now as the correct mode, and
 the Roman antiquaries tell us, that it is derived
 from the immense size of the edifice, not from the
 colossal statue of Nero, which was placed here
 by Adrian, and dedicated to the sun. The latter
 etymology is however given by Pomponius Lætus,
 in his work *de Antiquitatibus Urbis*; and we find
 the adjective *collosseus* used by Plinyⁱ, where he

^g Suet. c. 21.

^h Spartian. in Adriano.

ⁱ Lib. xxxv. c. 33.

says, that Nero had himself painted of colossal size. So also Suetonius^k mentions one *Æsius Proculus*, who from his prodigious size acquired the name of *Colosseus*. But Maffei, in his *Verona Illustrata*, argues against the notion, that the statue of Nero could have given the appellation to the building. It was first placed in the vestibule to Nero's golden house; and there is no evidence that it ever stood in the amphitheatre. Maffei also produces a passage where the amphitheatre of Capua is called *Colossus*; and here the epithet must certainly have been given from the size of the building. It is altogether a name of modern application, having been known formerly by the name of the Flavian amphitheatre, in memory of Flavius Vespasian, who commenced it A. D. 72. On the reverse of one of Vespasian's coins, with this inscription, IMP. CAESAR. VESPA-
SIAN. AVG. COS. VIII. P. P. there is a representation of the amphitheatre.

It was four years in building, and was completed by his son Titus, who had five thousand wild beasts killed at the dedication of it^l, and exhibited games for nearly one hundred days. Desgodetz says, that fifteen thousand men were employed for ten years, and then there was all the sculpture to finish. They erected it as a triumphal commemoration of their success in the Jewish war: and Venuti conjectures^m that the architect's name was Gaudentius, who was put

^k Calig. c. 35. ^l Eutropius, in Tito. ^m Vol. i. p. 39. Evelyn says, that it was built by 30000 captive Jews. *Memoirs*.

to death for being a Christian. He grounds his conjecture merely upon an inscription found in the church of S. Martina.

SIC. PREMIA. SERVAS. VESPASIANE. DIREIPREMI
ATVS. ES. MORTE. GAVDENTI. LETAREI
CIVITAS. VBI. GLORIE. TVE. AVTORIIPROMISIT
ISTE. DAT. KRISTVS. OMNIA. TIBI
QVI. ALIVM. PARAVIT. THEATRVM. IN. CELO

If we compare the present appearance of the building with what it must have been formerly, it will be seen, that nearly two-thirds of the stone which composed it are actually gone. It is said to have suffered by earthquakes; and for a long while it served as a vast stone-quarry, out of which modern Rome was ornamented. The Palazzo Farnese, (which was built by Paul III.) that of Venice, and the Cancelleria, as well as the Porto di Ripetta, are known to have been built from it. Even the iron, which united one block of stone to another, has been pillaged, as may be seen by the holes made in them for that purpose. This spoliation probably commenced centuries ago: and there is a letter in Cassiodorus^a, in which Theodoric complains that no small quantity of brass and lead had been taken away from the ornaments of the city walls. He speaks also of temples and public buildings having suffered in this way. With respect to the holes

^a Var. lib. iii. epist. 31.

which are observed in the stones of the Colosseum, different opinions have been given as to the origin of them. A dissertation has been written upon the subject by Suaresius^o, but he does not come to much conclusion. He mentions several conjectures, among which that already given seems much the most probable. Others have supposed that the holes were made for the purpose of fastening in poles for the shops and booths constructed in the interior. But little or no evidence is produced of such a custom having existed. The Abbè Barthelemi tells us, that he examined the building with a view to see if there were any of these cramps still existing, and to ascertain whether they were of brass or iron. He succeeded in finding some, and they were all of iron. Ficoroni says, that he saw some of brass.

But the paltry consideration of a few bits of metal was not the only cause which urged the Romans to destroy their noblest ornament. In the fury of the civil contentions which agitated Rome in the middle ages, the leaders of different factions found in the massy structures of their predecessors a number of strong fortresses. The family of the Annibaldi fortified themselves in the Colosseum; and before them the Frangipani had occupied it for the same purpose. We may suppose that their soldiers had not much reverence for the building, except so far as it afforded

^o Inserted in Sallengre's *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. 318.

them protection : and Barthelemy^p has produced a document of the fourteenth century, in which the contending parties agree to make the stones of the Colosseum common property : “ Et præ-
 “ terea, si omnes concordarent de faciendo Ti-
 “ burtinam, quod esset commune id, quod fode-
 “ retur.” Poggio also, who lived in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, lets us into another most destructive cause of the ruin of the Colosseum. In his work upon the Mutability of Fortune he tells us, that great part of it had been burnt to make lime; a custom which seems to have been very general in those days; so that the ancient buildings were made to furnish both the stone and the cement for modern edifices. The numerous palaces which were built at that time for the Roman nobles, and generally for the nephews and relations of the popes, must bear the infamy of this spoliation.

But in spite of all this ill-usage, it is still perhaps the most wonderful monument remaining of Roman magnificence : it seems scarcely to be the ruin of one building only ; and its majestic fragments are even magnified by the desolation and solitude which now prevail round it. We may insert here an expression used by our venerable countryman Bede, in the eighth century. Whether he ever visited Rome himself may be doubted, though the place of his burial is shewn there; but he may well have received the account

^p Mem. Acad. vol. xxviii. p. 585.

of this building from the Anglo-Saxon pilgrims. He says of it, "As long as the Coliseum stands, Rome shall stand: when the Coliseum falls, Rome will fall: when Rome falls, the world will fall¹." We may contrast with this the words of Martial, who saw it in all its splendour, when first erected:

Barbara pyramidum sileat miracula Memphis

Assiduus jactet nec Babylona labor:

Aere nec vacuo pendentia Mausolea

Laudibus immodicis Cares in astra ferant:

Omnis Cæsares cedat labor amphitheatro,

Unum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.

DE SPECTAC.

The pillage is at present stopped, and more particularly by a cross being erected in the middle of the *Arena*, which holds out for every kiss an indulgence of two hundred days. There are also fourteen *stations*² placed round it, so that it is in fact consecrated to Christian worship, "having been purified from the Pagan superstitions" (as an inscription states) "by the blood of the martyrs who suffered here." The present pope has erected an enormous buttress of brick at the south-east side, by which means a great part of

¹ Vid. Ducange, Gloss. tom. ii. p. 407.

² In Catholic countries, the different events which happened to our Saviour as he was going to the cross, are painted and placed at some distance from each other, so that the devout may stop and pray at each. These are called *stations*.

the outer wall has been preserved from falling. He has also employed workmen to repair the interior, at least a part of it, with a view to shew the ancient arrangement of the seats.

The amphitheatre is, as usual, elliptical. The wall which surrounds the whole consisted of three rows of arches, one above the other, with half-pillars between each arch: still higher than this was a fourth row of pilasters, with forty windows, but without arches. The Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders were successively employed in the three first rows; and the pilasters of the fourth or upper row are also Corinthian. Maffei seems to think, that the upper story should be called Composite, though he allows with Scamozio and other writers upon architecture that the capitals are Corinthian. It is only on account of the ornaments in the frieze, that he is inclined to the other opinion. Within this outer wall were two other concentric ones, which did not rise so high as the former. This may be called the framework of the building; and the three walls together formed a double row of porticos running round the whole, which communicated with each other, and received light from the outside.

The entrances were by eighty arches in the outer wall, which opened into the first Portico; from thence the people might pass by as many arches into the second, where they found at intervals staircases leading to the seats. Besides these staircases there were twenty other ascents to the

upper seats immediately from the outer wall, where there are traces of a staircase at every fourth arch. So that the immense crowds which frequented this amphitheatre could enter and depart in a short time, and with little confusion. The arches were all numbered on the outside from I to LXXX; but as more than half of this outer wall is now entirely gone, the numbers can only be seen from XXIII to LIV. Between XXXVIII and XXXIX is an arch a little wider than the rest, without a number, and with no cornice over it; which is supposed to have served as the private entrance from the palace of Titus on the Esquiline hill. This arch is about fourteen feet eight inches wide, and it may be presumed, that there were four such in the whole circuit of the building. On the coins which represent this building, of which there are not a few*, we may observe a kind of projecting porch on one side, which probably belonged to this same entrance.

Not a single step is now remaining of all the seats of stone, which rose in regular succession from the Arena. In all the amphitheatres the spectators sat upon the bare stone, except the senators, and they were allowed by Caligula to have cushions, as we learn from Dio¹, "Cushions" were then for the first time placed upon the se-

* Particularly in the reigns of Titus, Gordian, and Alexander Severus.

¹ Lib. lix.

“nators’ seats, that they might not sit upon the bare planks; and they were allowed to bring Thessalian caps into the theatre, that they might not suffer from the sun.” It appears from Juvenal, that this privilege was afterwards granted to the knights;

exeat, inquit,
Si pudor est, et de pulvino surgat equestri,
Cujus res legi non sufficit.

Sat. iii. 154.

The seats only went as high as the top of the second story. Above this were staircases leading to a gallery in the fourth story, where the lower orders of people stood; or there was probably another series of seats here made of wood. It is certain, from the remains of the staircases, that many spectators were accommodated here; and above them was an apparatus for covering the amphitheatre in case of rain, as to the nature of which the learned do not seem to be agreed.

This custom was first introduced in the theatres by Q. Catulus, when he dedicated the Capitol. He borrowed it from Campania^u. What this covering was made of at first, does not appear. Pliny tells us^x, that Lentulus Spinther first introduced linen awnings at the Ludi Apollinares. This was U. C. 692. We learn from Lucretius that they were coloured^y; and Dio mentions^z a purple awning, in the middle of

^u Plin. lib. xix. c. 6. Val. Max. lib. ii. c. 4. Amm. Marcell. lib. xiv. c. 6. ^x Ibid. ^y iv. 73. ^z Lib. lxiii.

which was a figure of Nero driving his chariot, and stars of gold placed round him. It seems from Pliny^a, that this was not in the Colosseum, but in a temporary amphitheatre built by Nero; and that this was the first time in which amphitheatres had been so covered. Caligula used to amuse himself with ordering these curtains to be drawn back, when the sun was excessively scorching, and hindering any person from going out. If the wind was very high, this covering could not be drawn over so large a space: the spectators then carried parasols, as we may collect from these epigrams:

Accipe quæ nimios vincant umbracula soles;

Sic licet et ventus, te tua vela tegent.

Mart. lib. xiv. ep. 28.

In Pompeiano tectus spectabo Theatro,

Nam populo ventus vela negare solet.

There are some projecting stones at the top of the Colosseum, which probably were connected with this contrivance. And in the upper story on the outside there is a series of corbels all round the building, three between each pilaster. There are grooves in them, and directly over them there are depressions in the cornice, apparently to admit upright poles, which supported the awning.

Different statements are given of the dimen-

^a Lib. xix. c. 6.

sions of this amphitheatre: but many agree in saying, that the circumference measures 1741 feet; the whole length 619; the whole width 513. The length of the Arena is 300 feet; the width of it 190. The height of the outer wall, now that the soil has been cleared away, which had risen twelve or thirteen feet, is stated at 179 feet; which is certainly very great, but hardly sufficient to warrant the assertion of Ammianus, “ that the human eyesight can scarcely reach “ the top of it.”

According to P. Victor, 87000 persons could be accommodated in the seats; and it seems probable, that 20000 more could have found places above. This seems an almost incredible number; but it is perhaps still more extraordinary, that 100000 persons should have been found so frequently to fill it, when the spectacles exhibited were a constant repetition of the same thing, and attended with the most disgusting barbarities. Yet we are told, that the eagerness to secure good places was such, that multitudes would flock to the Amphitheatre in the evening, and continue there all night, to be present at the first commencement of the games. To shew how greatly the Flavian Amphitheatre exceeded all others in size, I have brought into one view some of the dimensions of those which still remain to us. The numbers are probably not strictly accurate, but they are not wide from the truth.

^b Lib. xvi. c. 10.

	Whole length.	Whole width.	Length of Arena.	Width of Arena.	Number of Persons.
Colosseum	619	513	300	190	107000
Verona	464	367	233	136	23484
Nismes	438	343			17000
Pompeii			174	96	
Pola	370	300			
Pæstum			160	98	

The space in the middle, where the shews were exhibited, was called *Arena*, from the *sand* which was strewed over it, on account of the quantity of wild beasts that were slain there. An epigram of Martial alludes to this :

Nam duo de tenera juvenilia corpora turba
 Sanguineam rastris quæ renovabat humum,
 Sævus et infelix furiali dente peremit,
 Martia non vidit majus Arena nefas.

Lib. ii. ep. 75.

Arena came afterwards to signify an Amphitheatre generally, and a person who fought in it was called *Arenarius*. Nero and other emperors occasionally covered it with more valuable materials, vermilion and chrysocolla, as Pliny expresses it^c.

^c Lib. xxxiii. c. 27. Vide Suet. Calig.

The wall, which surrounded the *Arena* sufficiently high to prevent the wild beasts from leaping over it, is still nearly entire. On the top of this wall was a balustrade, called *Podium*. The row of seats nearest to the *Podium* was occupied by the first men of the senate, the consuls, prætors, &c. and what seems more extraordinary, the vestal virgins had particular places allotted to them, opposite to the tribunal of the prætor^d. These all sat in the lowest rows of seats, and looked through the balustrade. How many seats they occupied is not certain. Lipsius (in his *Treatise de Amphitheatro*) says four or five. The whole place occupied by them was called *orchestra*. Fourteen rows of seats above these were allotted to the knights by Otho. Lipsius supposes the wall and *Podium* to have been originally ten or fifteen feet high. To secure the spectators still farther from the wild beasts, strong nets were placed all round, which were made very splendid, as we learn from Calpurnius, (in *Carino*.)

auro quoque torta refulgent
Retia, quæ totis in Arenam dentibus extant.

Pliny^e mentions a still greater instance of costliness in Nero, that the interstices of the nets were filled with amber. “*Tanta copia succini invecta, ut retia arcendis feris podium protegentia succino nodarentur.*” Bars of wood,

^d Suet. Aug. c. 44.

^e Lib. xxxvii. c. 11.

which turned round were also placed for this purpose^f. Pliny tells us, that on occasion of the elephants having attempted to break out, iron *clathri* were erected; and Cæsar drew a stream of water called *Euripus* round the Arena, similar to that in the Circus Maximus. But this must have been in some amphitheatre older than the Colosseum.

The interior presents a most complete scene of destruction. By means of broken staircases, we may climb up a considerable height, and almost be lost in the labyrinth of ruins. It is from such a view of these remains, that the best idea of their vastness is formed: and if seen by moonlight, when the shattered fragments of stone, and the shrubs, which grow upon them, are seen at a distance in alternations of light and shade, the mind receives impressions of gratification and of melancholy, which perhaps no other prospect in the world could produce. In exploring the ruins at night, it is absolutely necessary for a party to keep together, or they may be lost in the different windings: the accounts which we read of robbers lurking in parts of the building are no longer to be feared: soldiers are constantly stationed there, to prevent such occurrences, and to protect the fabric. These, together with a solitary friar, who had taken up his abode there, and collected alms from the faithful and the curious, were the only living beings which I met with.

^f Vide Ammian, lib. xix. et Calpurn.

In the excavations, which were made not long ago, some subterranean passages were found, and several compartments of building, which puzzled the antiquaries exceedingly. The whole was again covered up, and the Arena made level; so that these remains cannot now be seen; but an engraving was made of the appearance which the Arena then exhibited, and a person, who interests himself in the ruins of Rome, would do well to purchase it. Some have conceived these subterraneous passages to have been formed to contain water for the naval combats, which were sometimes exhibited here⁵. In the account, which Lipsius published of this Amphitheatre in 1598, there is a singular passage, which seems to bear upon this subject. After observing, on the authority of Prudentius, that there was an altar in the Arena, he adds, “ Under
“ this altar were Cloacæ: at least such is the
“ assertion of Andreas Fulvius, (de Mirabilibus
“ Urbis, lib. i.) who makes a great part of the
“ building to be supported by them. Whether
“ he saw them himself, or some one else did, I
“ cannot tell: if the tradition were true, I should
“ doubt whether they were really *Cloacæ* for re-
“ ceiving and carrying off the water, which was
“ originally here; or whether they were re-
“ ceptacles for the wild beasts: or perhaps they
“ served for the water, which was used in the
“ *Naumachiæ*.” Such are the words of Lipsius.

⁵ Dio, lib. lxii. c. 66.

In the first of these three opinions he alludes to a passage in Martial, from which we learn, that there were pools of water here, before the Amphitheatre was built :

Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri
Erigitur moles, stagna Neronis erant.

Spectac. ep. ii.

They were the pools belonging to the grounds of Nero's golden house. Whatever may have been the use of the Cloacæ, the tradition preserved by Fulvius is clearly verified by the recent excavations.

Two events in the history of this building were also discovered, which are contained in the following inscriptions :

*SALVIS CONN THEODOSIO ET PLACIDO VALENTINIANO AVGG
RVFVS CAECINA FELIX LAMPADIVS VC ET IN L PRAEF VRBI
HARENAM AMPHITEATRIA NOVO VNA CVM PODIO ET PORTIS
POSTICISSEDET REPARATIS SPECTACVLI GRADIBVS RESTITVIT*

The stone is broken, and the Italic letters have been supplied by the Roman antiquaries.

DECIVS MARIVS. VENANTIVS
BASILIVS VC ET IN L. PRAEF
VRB PATRICIVS CONSVL
ORDINARIVS ARENAM ET
PODIVM QVAE ABOMI
NANDI TERRAEMO
TVS RVINA PROS
TRAVIT SVMPTV PRO
PRIO RESTITVIT.

That the amphitheatre suffered by various calamities, we collect from different authors. Capitolinus, in the life of Antoninus Pius, says, that it was restored by that emperor. Lampridius mentions another restoration of it after a fire by Elagabalus. Eusebius in his Chronicle also tells us, that it was burnt under Macrinus and Decius.

THEATRES.

The Romans cannot be said to have been a people, who did not patronize the drama, though they produced few dramatic writers of merit. In the composition of tragedy we scarcely possess any proofs of their genius: for the tragedies of Seneca, independent of their being spurious, as is commonly supposed, surely would not be advanced in support of their claims. In comedy, if we except Plautus and Terence, we have nothing but fragments preserved to us, nor do we read of many celebrated writers in that line. Of Plautus and Terence it would be rashness to speak except in praise: but our commendation must certainly be qualified by the admission, which it is impossible to withhold, that they drew very largely and even translated whole plays from Greek originals. Quintilian candidly confesses, that in comedy the Romans had never equalled the grace and elegance of the Greeks^b: he even allows, that the Roman language seemed

^b Lib. x. c. 1. See also A. Gellius, lib. ii. c. 23.

to him incapable of reaching that polished humour, which the Attic writers had alone possessed, and which was denied even to the other dialects of Greece. He asserts however, that the *Thyestes* of Varius was worthy of being compared with any tragedy which Greece had produced: and as Tiraboschi well observesⁱ, since Quintilian has shewn himself so impartial, when speaking of the Roman comedy, the opinion deserves some attention, which he expresses upon the Roman tragedy^k.

That species of composition, which has obtained the name of *Satires*, seems however to be truly of Roman birth. Perhaps it might be more safe to say generally, of Italian birth; as other people of Italy seem clearly to have given the Romans a taste for satirical plays. Tiraboschi^l has some judicious reflections upon the impropriety of saying, that Rome owed all her advancement in the arts and sciences to Greece, if we mean the country which was properly called Greece. With much greater justice of expression he makes the Romans indebted to the inhabitants of Southern Italy, or *Magna Græcia*. The entire subjection of this part of Italy may be said to have taken place about the year of Rome 487,

ⁱ *Storia Letteraria d' Italia*, part iii. lib. 3. p. 209.

^k It is worthy of remark, that since the revival of letters Italy has shone less in dramatic compositions, than in any other department of literature, and less than any other polished nation of modern times.

^l Part iii. lib. 1.

at which time there was little or no intercourse between Rome and Greece proper: and Tiraboschi proves, that Livius Andronicus, Nevius, Ennius, and Pacuvius, the earliest of the Roman poets, came from *Magna Græcia*. Livius introduced regular plays in Rome for the first time, about the year 513 U. C. but according to his namesake the historian^m, some kind of plays had been introduced 124 years before from Tuscany. The two exhibitions were probably of a totally different kind: and if Livius Andronicus came from *Magna Græcia*, we need not suppose that the one arose out of and was a refinement upon the other. We may be incredulous as to the cause, which Livy assigns for the introduction of the Tuscan plays: but the fact is probably true; that they appeared for the first time during a great plague. It is possible, that the people had recourse to these amusements, or that the magistrates purposely introduced them, to divert their thoughts from the great public calamity: like as in Paris there were twenty theatres open during the most horrid scenes of the Revolutionⁿ. The Romans, grave and sedate as they were, seem to have felt a peculiar relish for these exhibitions. If the farces, which were known by the name of *Atellan*, *Fescennine*^o, &c. were handed

^m Lib. vii. c. 1.

ⁿ I owe this remark to Mrs. H. Moore, in her work upon St. Paul, vol. i.. There is the same observation in Burke's Letters on a Regicide Peace, vol. viii. p. 179.

^o Atella was a town of the Osci. Fescenninum, of the

down to us, our opinion of Roman gravity might perhaps be lessened. Many probably never were composed, but the actors were left to follow their own invention, as to the jokes and indecencies which they uttered. That the whole spectacle was of the most indelicate kind, there seems abundant reason to believe. The old comedy of Athens, as we find it in the works of Aristophanes, was sufficiently offensive in this way: but in Rome the coarseness of the jest seems to have prevailed without any elegance of expression. Fortunately the regular dramatic writers of Rome, in looking to Greece as their model, selected the new comedy. Plautus was born U. C. 569, and we may suppose that his works began to be acted before 600. This was a prodigious improvement upon the Tuscan farces, and the Romans seem to have encouraged this advancement in national taste. Terence wrote his comedies between 587 and 593. In both these writers we find abundance of indecency: but it is mixed with a refinement of sentiment, which bespeaks an audience capable of appreciating true elegance.

Still however the Romans were never so fond of exhibitions purely dramatical, as were the more polished republicans of Athens. In the time of Pericles, when his city, though conspicuous for its love of the fine arts, was only rising

Sabines or of the Tuscans, where it was the custom to sing marriage songs.

to political importance, the Athenian mob had splendid theatres, to which they could daily resort. In the time of Plautus there was no theatre of stone in Rome; perhaps none which was permanent, but only temporary stages, erected of wood, on which the people were generally obliged to stand. L. Mummius, when he celebrated his triumph, U. C. 608, is said to have been the first who erected a theatre of wood after the Greek fashion: and one at Fidenæ having fallen down, by which several people were killed, a decree of the senate was passed to ensure the strength of such buildings. In the year of Rome 601, L. Cassius began to build a theatre, and had nearly finished it, but P. C. Scipio Nasica, who was then consul, got a decree of the senate for its destruction, as being injurious to public morals^p. Tacitus tells us, that it was brought as an accusation against Pompey by the older citizens, that he had built a permanent theatre. For before his time a temporary stage was erected with moveable seats. But it was a motive of economy which advised the building a permanent theatre, in preference to the enormous expence of erecting and fitting up one of wood every year. Some verses of Ausonius relate to this:

*Ædilis olim scenam tabulatam dabat,
Subito excitatam, nulla mole saxeæ.
Muræna sic et Gallius (nota loquar)*

^p Liv. epit. lib. xlviii. Appian. lib. i.

Postquam potentes, nec verentes sumptuum
 Nomen perenne crediderunt, si semel
 Constructa moles saxeo fundamine
 In omne tempus conderet ludis locum;
 Cuneata crevit hæc theatri immanitas.
 Pompeius hunc, et Balbus et Cæsar dedit
 Octavianus, concertantes sumptibus.

PROL. Sap. xiv. &c.

The expence at which some of these temporary theatres were erected, is almost incredible. The passage in Pliny, which describes it, deserves to be given at length⁹. “M. Scaurus fecit in Ædilitate sua opus omnium maximum, quæ unquam fuere humana manu facta, non temporaria mora, verum etiam æternitatis destinatione. Theatrum hoc fuit. Scena ei triplex, in altitudinem ccclx columnarum. Ima pars scenæ e marmore fuit, media e vitro, inaudito etiam postea genere luxuriæ. Summæ tabulis inauratis columnæ, ut diximus; imæ duodequadragenum pedum. Signa ærea inter columnas, ut indicavimus, fuerunt tria millia numero. Cavea ipsa cepit hominum lxxx millia, cum Pompeiani Theatri, toties multiplicata urbe, tantoque majore populo sufficiat large xl millibus. Sed et reliquus apparatus tantus, Attalica veste, tabulis pictis, cæteroque choragio fuit, ut in Tusculanam villam reportatis quæ superfuerant quotidiani usus deliciis, incensa villa ab iratis servis, concremaretur ad

⁹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 24.

“ *hs. millies.*” In another place he says that it only lasted one month. Scaurus was ædile U.C. 694^r. The double theatre mentioned by Pliny¹, and which has been described at length, p. 336, was also temporary. Even after theatres of stone were introduced, they were occasionally erected of wood; and Vitruvius (who wrote under Augustus) speaks of several theatres being built annually in Rome².

In the course of their history we read but of three theatres of stone which were of any particular note, those of Pompey, Marcellus, and Balbus. The amphitheatre possessed more attraction for the conquerors of the world; and this species of building, together with the sanguinary combats exhibited in it, were probably inventions of their own. The reason which Horace assigns for dramatic poetry being so neglected at Rome, is probably true, though not the only one. The people who frequented the theatres went there to gratify their ears and eyes more than their intellect, and were as impatient of sitting out the representation of a long tragedy, as they were incapable of appreciating its beauties: they would frequently interrupt the representation by demanding some brilliant spectacle, or some sanguinary combat: and the poets were

^r So that as Pompey's Theatre was built only five years after, Pliny must have forgotten himself, when he talks of “*toties multiplicata urbe, tantoque majore populo.*”

¹ Lib. xxxvi. c. 15.

² Lib. v. 5.

little inclined to encounter this mortification, or to submit their compositions to such irrational judges: they wisely preferred private recitations before an audience both able and willing to appreciate their labours.

Sæpe etiam audacem fugat hoc terretque poetam,
 Quod numero plures, virtute et honore minores,
 Indocti stolidique, et depugnare parati,
 Si discordet eques, media inter carmina poscunt
 Aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet.

Epist. lib. ii. ep. 1, 182.

Before Vespasian commenced the Colosseum, the Circus was used for these spectacles. So it continued after the introduction of amphitheatres: but in nearly all the towns, where traces of the Romans remain, some vestiges of an amphitheatre are to be found^u, whereas the theatres are comparatively very few.

THEATRE OF POMPEY.

The first theatre of stone which was erected in Rome was that of Pompey. It has been already mentioned, that he was censured by the older and graver citizens for introducing such a corruption of the public morals: and the means which he took to obviate the charge are rather

^u Ruins of them may be seen at Pompeii, Capua, Pozzuoli, Verona, Pæstum, Cumæ, Alba, Minturnæ, Oericuli, Lucca, Arezzo, Nismes, Arles, Perigueux, Ligeris, Avenche, Hispalis, &c. &c.

curious. On the top of the building was a temple, so that the seats of the theatre appeared as if they were steps leading up to the religious edifice: and when the day of dedication arrived, the people were invited not as to a theatre, but as to a temple. Tertullian mentions this quibble, and ends his relation of it with these words, "ita damnatum et damnandum opus templi titulo prætexerit." This writer calls the temple that of *Venus*, which he probably did to make the most of his story: for A. Gellius says^x it was consecrated to *Victory*. Perhaps Pliny gives us the true account (and he lived much nearer to the time) when he says^y, that *Venus Victrix* was the deity, with which account Plutarch agrees^z. The authors also differ as to the year: Pliny makes it to have been Pompey's second consulship; A. Gellius the third: and from the story which this latter writer tells^a, there can be no doubt that he is right as to the dedication of the temple; and according to Tertullian the theatre and the temple were both dedicated by one act. It is however generally said, that he built the theatre after the conclusion of the Mithridatic war, U. C. 698, in his second consulship^b. According to Plutarch it was a copy of that at Mitylene, but on a more splendid scale. Pliny

^x Lib. x. c. 1. ^y Lib. viii. c. 7. ^z In Poplic.

^a This has been already mentioned at p. 151, note s, to which the reader is requested to refer.

^b He was consul for the third time 701.

also speaks in high terms of the magnificence of its ornaments^c. Dio says, that it was not built by Pompey, but by his freedman, Demetrius. However it always went by the name of Pompey; and by the spoils of the Mithridatic war, the general was more likely than his freedman to have acquired funds for such a work.

It suffered from fire, and Tiberius intended to have repaired it; but Caligula finished it, as we learn from Suetonius^d. It was injured by fire also in the reigns of Claudius, Titus, and Philip. Nero covered it with gold during one day, to shew it to Tiridates, king of Armenia^e: and after a lapse of five centuries and a half, Theodoric again repaired it. We learn this from Cassiodorus, who also describes the vast solidity of the building. Having mentioned the repair, he adds, "Quid non solvas, senectus, quæ tam robusta quassasti? montes facilius cedere putarentur, quam soliditas illa, qua tenetur: quando moles ipsa sic tota de cautibus fuit, ut præter artem additam, et ipsa quoque naturalis esse crederetur. Hæc potuissimus forte negligere, si nos contigisset talia non videre: caveas illas saxis pendentibus apsidatas, ita juncturis absconditis in formas pulcherrimas convenisse, ut cryptas magis excelsi montis crederes, quam aliquid fabricatum esse judicares." At the end he tells him, that he will pay the expence, whe-

^c Lib. vii. c. 3.

^d Calig. c. 21.

^e Plin. lib. xxxiii. c. 10.

ther it required to be kept together by large buttresses, or to be rebuilt^f.

It was large enough to contain forty thousand persons. Of this theatre we can scarcely be said to have any remains. The situation of it was between the church of S. Andrea della Valle, and the Ponte Sisto; and some houses still preserve a curved form, which is to be ascribed to the ancient theatre. Vitruvius mentions^g a portico as attached to the Theatre of Pompey, like as the portico of Octavia served for the theatre of Marcellus. In the fragments of ancient Rome, preserved in the Capitol, some portion of it may be observed. From these and from conjecture Bufalino, in his *Ichnography of Rome*, gives a plan of the whole building.

I may take this opportunity of mentioning the statue, supposed to be that of Pompey, at the foot of which Cæsar fell, and which is now in the Spada palace. It was found in the Strada de' Leutari, near the *Cancellaria*, in the time of Julius II: and as the head lay under one house, and the rest of the body under another, the two proprietors were on the point of dividing the statue, when the pope interposed and rescued it from this misfortune^h. It stood at first in the place which Pompey had built near his theatre for the senate to assemble in: but we know from Suetoniusⁱ, that Augustus removed it to stand

^f Theodoric to Symmachus, Epist. li. lib. 4.

^g Lib. v. c. 9.

^h Fl. Vacca, Mem. lvii.

ⁱ Aug. c. xxxi.

opposite the Basilica of Pompey. Winkelmann^k expresses some doubts whether it is really a statue of that unfortunate character.

THEATRE OF MARCELLUS.

The second theatre in Rome was that which bears the name of Marcellus, though it was built by Augustus. It has been asserted that Vitruvius was the architect of it, but there seems no good evidence to support such an opinion. It was dedicated U.C. 743^l. The stage was repaired by Vespasian; and it seems after that to have suffered by fire or some other calamity, as Lampridius mentions the intention of Alexander Severus to repair it^m. Considerable remains of it are still to be seen in the Piazza Montanara. It is the semicircular outer wall which has survived, and probably much more than is commonly seen is buried in the neighbouring houses. The ruins of it have made quite a hill, on which the Savelli palace is built.

It is said to have been formed originally of four stories, but the two upper ones are entirely gone, and the lower one is half buried. This last is of the Doric order, and it may be observed that the pillars have no bases: the story above it is Ionic, and they are considered as a very good specimen of the union of the two orders. The third and fourth stories were probably Co-

^k Lib. vi. c. 5. §. 27.

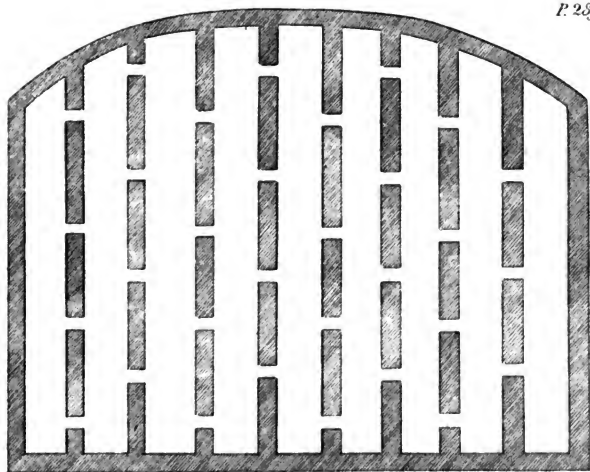
^l Plin. lib. viii. c. 25. ^m C. 44.





THEATRVM

MARCELLI



SETTE SALE.

Corinthian, as in the Colosseum. The moderns do not much admire this mixture of orders; but we have these two instances of it in periods when taste certainly was not on the decline. There were seats for thirty thousand spectators.

Some of the entrances may be seen, by which the people passed into the theatre; and from plans of ancient Rome in the Capitol, part of the stage and proscenium may be made out. In the form of the stage little or no variation seems to have prevailed in the Roman theatres, so that this fragment possesses little value. I annex an engraving of it from the work of Bellori, compared with my own sketch. Serlio, in his work upon architecture, makes out a plan of the whole theatreⁿ.

THEATRE OF BALBUS.

This had its name from L. Cornelius Balbus, who built it at the exhortation of Augustus, U.C. 741^o. He was possessed of so much wealth, that he left by will twenty-five drachms to every Roman. This theatre was calculated to contain thirty thousand people. It was dedicated by Claudius. According to Pliny^p there were four columns of onyx in it, which were considered very remarkable. No remains of this theatre now exist, and the situation of it is not known

ⁿ Lib. iii.

^o Suet. Aug. c. xxix.

^p Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.

for certain; but it is supposed that it stood near the Palazzo Cenci, and that the hill on which that palace stands was formed by the ruins of the theatre.

CHURCHES OF ROME.

IT has been observed already, that the curiosities of Rome may be conveniently divided into the Antiquities, the Churches, and the Palaces. Having treated of the first of these divisions, we may now proceed to the second.

The Churches of Rome are in many respects remarkable to a stranger, and perhaps to the English stranger more particularly. In travelling through any Catholic country, a Protestant must necessarily be struck with the difference of ornaments and decorations in the places of public worship. The Englishman, accustomed to great simplicity in the forms and ceremonies of devotion at home, sees much which surprises and shocks him in the churches of Catholic countries. But in the Netherlands, in France, in Switzerland, and generally in those districts through which he passes on his road to Italy, they are the ceremonies of religion, which for the most part seem to him so extraordinary. The exterior of the churches themselves will frequently bring

to his recollection those of his own country: and the pointed style of architecture, as it exists on the continent, is sufficiently allied to that which is so much the boast of his native land, as to set the difference between the several structures in no very strong light. But in Rome the contrast is in every way remarkable. There is something in the interior of a Roman church which is wholly at variance with the prevailing ecclesiastical architecture of England; and at the same time much superior in taste to the religious edifices of most other Catholic countries.

In the first place, the total absence of the Gothic or pointed style of architecture in the Roman churches, can hardly fail to be noticed by an English eye. I believe it may be asserted, that not a single specimen of what is called (properly or improperly) Gothic architecture, is to be found within the walls of Rome. The windows of the north aisle of St. Paul's, without the walls, are the only instances which I observed near to Rome: these have certainly a close resemblance to the windows of many of our own parish churches, and are said to have been added in the tenth century. In the tribune of St. John Lateran are four pointed arches of the date of 1288: but the circumstance of their being pointed is the only one which connects them with that singular form of architecture, so prevalent in the North and in England: they are wholly without mullions, or any other ornament whatsoever peculiar to that style. These are the only two

specimens in or near the walls of Rome, which I could find ; and it may therefore be stated as a singular fact in the history of Roman architecture, that though there are churches of every age, and many contemporary with the introduction of the pointed style into Italy and other parts of Europe, yet the pointed arch and its attending ornaments have not found their way into the city of Rome.

The north-gate in the transept of the old church of S. John Lateran appears however to have been Gothic. It is engraved in the work of Ciampini upon the buildings of Constantine^a. He states it to have been built by Gregory XI. who reigned 1370-8. The same plate does not shew any other part of the church to have been in the same style. His view of part of the old church of St. Peter also represents six windows, which are themselves round at top, but the compartments of each have tracery and mullions like those in our Gothic churches. All the windows on the sides seem also to have been of the same kind.

Much speculation might arise from the above observation, and many conjectures might be raised as to the cause of the absence of the pointed style from Rome. The difficulty is not diminished by this style being found in various parts of the Roman states at no great distance from the capital ; nor can the fact be explained

^a Tab. v.

by supposing this order to have travelled thus far in a southward direction, and there to have stopped: for in Naples there are not a few specimens in tolerably correct taste, though there is a great mixture of Grecian in many churches, which would otherwise be called Gothic. The introduction of the pointed style into Naples might perhaps be explained: at least if the result of my observation be accurate, that the cathedral is the oldest Gothic building in that capital, the adoption of that style may be attributed to Charles of Anjou being its founder in 1280, and introducing the fashion which had gained such firm footing in his own country. But Naples is not the only city south of Rome where this style is to be found: even in Sicily there are many churches decidedly older than the thirteenth century, which have the pointed arch. So that the question still remains to be answered, why there should be no churches of Gothic or pointed architecture in Rome.

The traveller in his journey to this city from the Alps will have observed two styles to be mostly prevalent. In Lombardy, particularly in the cities of Placentia, Parma, Reggio, Modena, Bologna, &c. he will have recognized a great resemblance to what is apt to be called Saxon architecture in England; which term I may adopt for the sake of brevity, however incorrect may have been its original application. The same solidity in the columns, the invariable adoption of the round arch without any mixture of the

pointed in the same building, that corrupt and degenerate resemblance to Grecian models, particularly in the capitals, but not at all in the proportions, those grotesque ornaments formed of real or imaginary animals which characterize our Saxon edifices, may all be observed in those towns, which I have specified above. This order of architecture seems mostly to be confined to the plains of Lombardy, bounded to the south by the Apennines. With some indeed it has obtained the appellation of Lombard architecture.

Though it is not very material what terms we use to describe any particular style, provided we explain our use of them, yet it may be well to observe, that the terms Gothic and Lombard, as applied to architecture, may be demonstrated to be incorrect with respect to Italy. For as the Goths preceded the Lombards in their possession of that country, the mode of building introduced by the former (if indeed they introduced any) must have been prior to that of the latter: but as the Lombard architecture is evidently allied to our Saxon, and we know, that in the north the Saxon was considerably more ancient than the pointed style, we come to an opposite conclusion as to their relative antiquity. We should come to the same conclusion also from examining the churches of Italy, as well as those of the north of Europe. This may be added to the many arguments, which shew, that the term *Gothic* is incorrect, as we use it. For as both the above conclusions cannot be true, and the

one which makes the Lombard architecture to be most ancient is confirmed by observation, we must infer, that the terms themselves are incorrectly used, and that the style, which is later than that of the Lombards, cannot be referred to the Goths, who preceded them. The Lombard architecture, as already stated, prevails mostly in the country now called Lombardy; from which it might be presumed, that the term was not given without reason. The Lombards are said to have come from Pannonia, (that is, the country which now goes by the name of Hungary,) but whether that will throw any light upon the history of our Saxon architecture, is a point which I do not presume to meddle with.

Upon entering Tuscany the traveller will find a new style of building, and one to which his eye has been more familiar in the Gothic edifices of his own country. If the distinction did not seem fanciful, I should be inclined to say, that at the time when the churches of Lombardy and Tuscany were built, each of these styles was known and followed; but in Lombardy the Saxon became the prevailing order, borrowing some occasional ornaments from the Gothic; whereas in Tuscany the pointed became the ruling form, with several admixtures of the more heavy and solid Saxon. The Cathedral of Florence was begun in 1298, and the arches are all pointed: that of Pisa is much older, having certainly been built in 1063, if not earlier. The style both within and without is not the pointed;

but in the baptistery, a circular building close to the west end of the cathedral, there is a row of arches on the outside decidedly Gothic. This building bears the date of 1152.

To assign a reason for the pointed style being found in some parts of Italy and not in others, is far beyond my pretensions; as it would involve in some measure the intricate question, Whence is the origin of Gothic architecture? To those who would give the merit of the invention to the Italians, I never can subscribe. At least it is singular, that the northern architects, who must in that case have imported it from Italy, should have made such prodigious improvements in the good taste and elegance of the order, without imparting any of their rules to their former masters. This I can at least venture to assert, that any specimen of that light and majestic architecture which prevails in our English cathedrals, and of which the unfinished cathedral of Cologne may be quoted as a noble instance on the continent, will in vain be sought for in Italy. The finest specimen of Gothic architecture in Italy, and perhaps in one sense in the world, is at Milan: but the cathedral there is not older than the fourteenth century^b; and its florid decorations and admixture of Grecian orders clearly shew the decline of Gothic architecture.

Another hypothesis, which would bring it from the east, is also attended with considerable dif-

^b It was built in 1386.

ficulties. From descriptions, which we have of oriental buildings, the notion certainly does not appear to be without foundation: but if it was imported into the west by means of the Crusades, or any other early intercourse between the two continents, should we not naturally find the earliest specimens of it in Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, those maritime Republics, which so long monopolized the whole commerce of the east, which transported the Crusaders to and from their adventurous expeditions, and were the first to introduce a spirit of luxury and refinement in their public and private buildings? Though a few specimens of the pointed style may be found in each of these towns, yet surely they are neither frequent nor pure enough to lead to the conclusion, that they were the first examples seen in Europe, after the order had been imported from the east. There are Gothic buildings in the north of Europe, which are older than any in Italy, and at all events the style has been carried to a far greater elegance and perfection on this side of the Alps: so that an insuperable difficulty would seem to attend that hypothesis, which would derive the origin of it from Italy; and one almost equally great would be found in supposing it to have been brought from the east in the communication, which took place between Europe and Asia in the middle ages.

The Italians themselves, at least the Romans, are very ignorant of what we mean by the term Gothic, applying it indiscriminately to the pointed

and to the Saxon styles : they pretend to hold it in great contempt ; and seem to think, that no building in that taste can deserve any admiration from a classical eye. The epithets, which they apply to these styles, are such as *Greco-barbaro*, *Arabo-Tedesco*, and such-like, from which little can be proved as to the origin of the order. If it prove any thing, it would tend to shew, that what we call Gothic architecture came originally from the east, and was first made known to the Italians by the Germans.

The subject has been much discussed by the Italian antiquaries ; amongst whom two of their most learned writers, Muratori and Maffei, assign a much later origin to this style of architecture. Tiraboschi however seems inclined (or rather he was so inclined in his first edition) to think, that the Goths were the introducers of the pointed style, or, according to his own phrase, that they were the corrupters of architecture in Italy. Mr. Eustace quotes a passage from Cassiodorus, for which, I imagine, he is indebted to Tiraboschi, who advances it in support of his theory. The passage is this : “ Quid dicamus columnarum junceam proceritatem ? moles illas sublimissimas fabricarum, quasi quibusdam erectis hastilibus contineri, et substantiæ qualitate concavis canalibus excavatas, ut magis ipsas æstimes fuisse transfusas ; alias seris judices factum, quod metallis durissimis videas expoli-

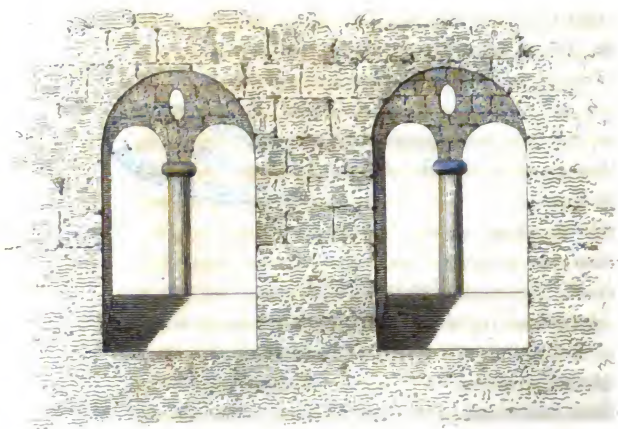
* Lib. vii. Var. form. 15.

“tum.” I confess, that I cannot see much description of Gothic architecture here, and no mention whatever of the pointed arch. The Abbè Fea however^d has entirely destroyed the weight of this passage, by shewing, that Cassiodorus was speaking of the ancient Roman buildings, which existed in his time. This is quite evident, and Tiraboschi gives up the passage, which Eustace ought also to have done. Frisi, a writer upon this subject, says, that one of the first examples of a series of arches upon insulated columns, instead of these columns being united, as formerly, by horizontal architraves, is in the church of S. Vitale in Ravenna, which was begun in the time of Amalasuntha, Queen of the Goths, about A. D. 530. But this can scarcely be said to prove much as to the pointed style; and Tiraboschi himself allows, that in the Palace of Diocletian at Spalatro, (which was built towards the end of the third century,) there are remains in the same manner of building. So there are in the baths of this emperor at Rome. To which may be added two other instances: the church of S. Constantia, by some called a temple of Bacchus, near to Rome, and out of the Porta Pia. It is certainly as old as the time of Constantine, and by some is thought to be much older. The other is the church of S. Stefano Rotondo on the Cælian hill. An engraving of it may be seen in the work of Desgodetz, who

^d Vide Winkelmann, tom. iii. p. 272.



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affirms, without expressing any doubt, that it was built in the reign of Claudius. It is a circular building, with two concentric rows of pillars. The exterior row supports a series of arches. The windows also are curious, and might almost be thought a step towards those, which are so common in our Gothic churches. The work above alluded to represents them thus. [*See the Plate.*]

Certain it is, that the term *Gothic* has in Italy been synonymous with German or Transalpine : and if the taste of the Roman architects may be considered as important in the question, it would appear evident that the south of Italy had taken no part in producing this style of architecture, but that on the contrary it was held almost in abhorrence, and considered a decided proof of the bad taste of those nations, who had not drawn their ideas from Italian models. This partly leads me back to the former question, how the absence of all Gothic architecture is to be accounted for in Rome. And here I take the term Gothic in the same extended sense as the Romans do : for neither the pointed style, nor that which we call Saxon, and which is so common in Lombardy, is to be found there.

Upon this subject I have little to add. One remark however I shall venture to make, which though it leave the origin of Gothic architecture unexplained, or rather assumes it to be northern, may perhaps afford a solution to the other question, why no specimen of it is to be found in Rome. Whatever may be the origin of our

northern styles, the Italians call them both German, and at Rome they apply the term *Gothic* to one as much as to the other. Pisa seems to have set the example to Florence. From these several circumstances it appears not unreasonable to suppose, that as Pisa steadily adhered to the Ghibelline party, and Rome was the head of the Guelphic, the cause of the northern styles being adopted and united at Pisa may be ascribed to the connexion of that city with Germany: whereas the hatred between the Romans and Germans will explain the opposite fact in Rome. Whatever value may be attached to these remarks, the traveller, who has examined the churches of Rome with this view, will agree, that the pointed style is no where to be found there.

The Roman architects have invariably studied the Grecian models; and whatever fault may be found in separate parts, it must be allowed, that the churches of this city present some of the most splendid specimens of architecture, which can be found in modern times. The difference between these churches and our own has been before observed to be very considerable. The following may be some of the principal points in which they differ. In England we know but little of Italian architects: I mean those of the school of Palladio, Borromini, Sansovino San. Michele, Fontana, &c. Some of our houses have been constructed after their directions, but with very few exceptions they have contributed nothing to

the designs of our churches. The whole number indeed of churches built in England upon the Grecian style is small: and most of them are of late date, where the architects, however unsuccessful they may have been, have endeavoured to copy the remains of antiquity, and to adhere to the simplicity of their originals more closely than their predecessors in Italy. I am aware, that I shall offend many by underrating the merits of Palladio, and what may be called the Italian school of architecture: for I deny, that it is to be identified with the Grecian, nor can I conceive, that the inventors of it meant that it should be so. They undoubtedly intended to strike out a variety of their own; and as such, we may venture to criticise the Italian structures of the sixteenth century, without being accused of calling in question the established perfections of the Grecian orders. Of these I profess to be a most humble, but most unqualified admirer: and it is my admiration of their simplicity, which leads me to censure the innovations introduced by the Italian architects.

The object of this school seems to have been to break the simplicity of the Grecian orders into numerous parts, and to overload them with ornament. The Doric may perhaps be heavy, but the Italian variation of it is florid. The former may present too great a mass of solid masonry, but in the latter the eye finds nothing to dwell upon: all is overloaded and broken into parts: every column must be ornamented: every pedi-

ment must be divided, and charged with some device: nor can there be any space of a few feet in dimensions, which is not filled up with niches, urns, and statues. To these remarks there will of course be many exceptions; where the ancient models have been strictly followed, they will necessarily be inapplicable: but my meaning is, that in many of those buildings which the Italians admire, there is abundance of bad taste and metreticious ornament. This is particularly the case in many of the Roman churches, which from an English eye will not obtain that admiration, which a lover of Grecian architecture in Italy thinks them entitled to command.

After what has been said above, it would be needless to mention the absence of any part of Gothic architecture as another point of difference; but few English travellers can have failed to observe the total want of those spires and towers, which they have been apt to class among the greatest ornaments of their own towns. I say total want; because though there may be a few towers rising above the other buildings, yet they can hardly exceed half-a-dozen in number, are generally of brick*, by no means high, and altogether much more disfiguring than ornamental. Of spires there is absolutely not a single specimen: the deficiency is made up in cupolas, of which there is a prodigious number, but these do

* One disfigures S. Maria Maggiore, and another the church built near the Temple of Nerva.

not make much shew, particularly when viewed from the streets, and the very form of them, as connected with religious buildings, is itself a rarity to the English eye. So much for the exterior of the churches.

In the interior the English traveller will also find many points of difference, when he compares them with similar structures in his own country. By the time he has reached Rome, he will have become tolerably accustomed to the singular appendages upon Catholic worship: at first he may have thought these ornaments (for they are intended to be such) in extremely bad taste, if not irreverent: but in Rome it must be allowed that a much better taste prevails. The interior of the churches is frequently splendid, not to say superfluously gorgeous: but even Protestant scruples will find little to be offended with, though much which might be altered or retrenched. Rome, formerly the mistress of the world, and for some centuries the capital of a new empire, that of superstition, still stands preeminently distinguished amongst the countries which acknowledge her supremacy, and in the pomp and circumstances of religion far eclipses them all. In entering a Roman church I have felt an awe and a sense of the dignity of the Catholic religion, to which I had been a stranger in other parts of the continent. There are some points indeed peculiar to Rome, and which not only the sacred edifices of our own country, but even those of the rest of Italy must necessarily want.

In Rome we probably see churches of a greater antiquity than any other country can boast : we have there a kind of history and chronological series of religious architecture and religious customs : we find churches, which if not originally built for heathen temples at least preserve the form of them, and may be considered as supplying the connecting link between the Pagan and Christian worship ; in those of a later date we have some of the finest remains of antiquity consecrated to a better and holier purpose : we find whole rows of columns, and marble of all descriptions and sizes, taken from the ruins of ancient buildings, and serving as ornaments to more modern temples ; and sometimes even the actual statues, which had borne the names of heathen deities, transformed, and as it were baptized, to suit the equally numerous catalogue of Christian saints. The astonishing quantity of these remains may be conjectured from a calculation made some time ago by an inhabitant of Rome, that there were 14000 Granite columns in the city, nearly all of which may be considered ancient : and I find in Spence's *Anecdotes*^f, that the antique columns of marble amount to 6300.

The pictures, which are a striking feature in all Catholic churches, when contrasted with places of worship in Protestant countries, command peculiar attention in Rome. Some of the finest works of the greatest masters were painted

^f Page 96.

for religious societies, and some of them still preserve their original situations. But besides the pictures, the ceilings are frequently painted, and in no respect are the churches of this capital more conspicuous, than for the frescos which adorn their roofs.

The English traveller will also observe and probably lament the absence of painted glass in the Roman churches. Leo III. who reigned about the year 800, is said to have put coloured glass into S. John Lateran and St. Peter's*. But there is none now in the whole of Rome, and throughout Italy it is by no means so uncommon as in the north. The French say, that the Italians learnt what they know of this art from a painter of Marseilles, who worked at Rome under Julius II.

Having premised these observations with respect to the churches of Rome in general, we may now proceed to make some remarks upon those, which hold the principal rank for size, for beauty, or for antiquity. It is right to begin first with the Basilicæ. These are a kind of metropolitan churches, having other parishes subordinate to them. The term *Basilica* among the ancient Romans signified a building, where causes were heard, ambassadors received, public business transacted, &c. &c. Shops were erected round them, in which various articles were sold. The form was an oblong; the middle of which was

* Anastasius.

an open space to walk in, called *Testudo*, and which we should now call the nave. On each side of this was one or more rows of pillars, according to the scale of the building, which formed what we should call side aisles, and which the ancients termed *porticus*. The end of the *Testudo* was finished in a curved form, and called *Tribunal*, because causes were heard there^h: hence the term *Tribune* is applied to that end of the Roman churches which is behind the high altar, and which in the oldest churches generally preserved the curved form. Thus we find in Prudentius,

Fronte sub adversa gradibus sublime Tribunal
Tollitur, Antistes prædicat unde Deum.

Hymn. S. Hippolyti.

The whole plan of the ancient Basilica may be found in Vitruviusⁱ. After having mentioned the above particulars, he adds, “but if there shall “be greater room in the length, *Chalcidica* may “be added at the extremities.” The meaning of this term *Chalcidica* is not certain; but the most probable interpretation seems to be, that they answered to our term *transepts*, and the custom of building them may have been brought from Chalcis^k. These transepts however seem not so much to have produced the form of the

^h Vid. Quintil. lib xii. c. 5.

ⁱ Lib. v. c. 1.

^k It has been conjectured, that we should read *Causidica*.

Latin cross, but to have been added at the extremity of the building: for Baptista Albertus says, "they joined these two [i. e. the Testudo and the Chalcidica] so as to form a resemblance to the letter T." The old Basilica of St. Peter was exactly of this form. The proportions according to Vitruvius were such, that the breadth equalled three-fifths of the length. It is not improbable, that in the Christian Basilicæ the transepts were moved lower down in the building, in order to assimilate them to the form of the cross. The Italians always call the transept *Crociata*, and those who write in Latin call it *Crux*.

From what has been stated, it is not difficult to see why the term *Basilica* was applied to Christian churches. For of the sacred edifices erected in Rome by Constantine, that of the Lateran, the old St. Peter's, and St. Paul's, were precisely of that form. Any Roman of that day who saw them would naturally apply the term to them: for they were in all respects the same as the heathen Basilicæ. As these were the first churches upon a large scale, and legally acknowledged in Rome, the term Basilica would become identified with Christian temples; and though the other churches erected by Constantine, viz. S. Croce, S. Lorenzo, and S. Agnese, might not be of the same form, they would all come to be called Basilicæ. At present the term is confined to seven churches, as mentioned above; it is not so easy to give a reason for this: but their anti-

quity, and the celebrity of their foundation, (five of them being the work of Constantine,) may have given them this distinction.

Pancirolli assigns the following reason for the preference being given to these seven¹. Upon a certain occasion the four Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, came to Rome; and four principal churches were assigned to them during their residence. These were S. Paul's, S. Maria Maggiore, S. Lorenzo, and S. Peter's. The Pope, who was superior to them all, reserved for himself S. John Lateran, which was then superior in rank to S. Peter's. This gave a peculiar sanctity to the five churches, and the faithful frequented them more than any other. S. Sebastian, and S. Croce were subsequently added to the number, because in going from S. Paul's to the Lateran it was necessary to pass by S. Sebastian's²; and in continuing the visitation from the Lateran to S. Lorenzo, S. Croce also came in the way. Such is the reason assigned by an antiquary and dignitary of the Romish church, which perhaps will not seem very satisfactory.

Of these Basilicæ, four are within the walls, S. Peter's, S. Maria Maggiore, S. John Lateran, and S. Croce in Gierusalemme; three are without, S. Paul's, S. Lorenzo, and S. Sebastian's.

¹ Tesori Nascosti dell' alma Citta di Roma. Roma 1625.

² This is not strictly true.

S. PETER'S.

In attempting to describe the Basilica of S. Peter, I feel at a loss for adequate terms of admiration. We are so much in the habit of looking with astonishment, if not with awe, upon those stupendous monuments, which have come down to us as the works of the ancients, that to some it would seem the height of absurdity to compare any modern building in magnitude or magnificence with those which existed in former ages. But our enthusiasm must not carry us beyond the bounds of truth: nor when we allow the ancients to have far exceeded ourselves in the generality of their public works, must we forget or keep back those points, in which the moderns may be allowed to have excelled. If we could suppose any sudden calamity to overwhelm the city of Rome, as it now stands, and to reduce the buildings of modern construction to the same indistinct and misshapen mass of ruins, which the ancient structures present, the traveller, who in some future age should explore the scene of desolation, would find in the enormous pile, which was once S. Peter's, a monument much more vast and more magnificent, than any which Republican or Imperial Rome has left. This observation will perhaps require to be proved in detail. Of those temples, which have left any trace behind them in Rome, there is none fit to be compared with S. Peter's in dimensions: nor is there any building of any

kind, which can be considered on an equal scale with it, except the Colosseum. But the two structures are not really objects of comparison. The Colosseum incloses an immense space of ground, but being an uncovered building, and without any architectural decorations in the interior, it can hardly be considered equal to S. Peter's either in design or in execution. Even uncovered as it is, (and consequently no great wonder of art, though a prodigious proof of the magnificence of him who planned it,) its whole length is very little, if at all, greater than that of S. Peter's; as they come so near to each other, that the former measures 845 Roman palms in length, the latter 830; so that the modern building approaches very near in size to the largest structure which ancient Rome has left us, and infinitely surpasses it in elegance of design and splendor of decoration.

The largest temple of ancient Rome seems to have been that of Jupiter on the Capitol: the dimensions of which may be collected from ancient authors to have been only 200 feet in length by 185 in width: which makes it quite contemptible, when compared with S. Peter's; and scarcely on a par with the principal church in most of our large towns.

At Athens the Parthenon measured only 230 feet in length, and 98 in width. The temple of Theseus is 104 feet long; and these two seem to have been the largest buildings, which Athenian devotion and Athenian greatness ever reared.

The temple of Jupiter at Elis (which might be called the Metropolitan church of Greece) was 230 feet long, and 95 wideⁿ. The temple of Jupiter Olympius at Agrigentum was larger than any of these, and, as Diodorus says^o, might have vied with any in the world: he calls the length of it 340 feet, and modern observation makes it 345. His text is manifestly corrupt, where it makes the width only 60 feet, it is really 165. This however was not the largest, for the temple of Diana at Ephesus was 425 feet long, and 220 broad^p. Pocock makes it only 340 feet long, and 190 wide^q.

The platform upon which the temple at Jerusalem stood was a square of 620 feet: but the temple itself must have been much smaller. Prideaux says, only 110 feet long.

From what has been stated the remark will be confirmed, however repugnant it may be to our ideas of ancient superiority, that modern times have seen a building arise, which far eclipses in proportions, and probably in decorations, any which the most flourishing times of Greece and Rome could boast.

If we extended the comparison to Babylon or Egyptian Thebes, the balance would probably be decidedly against the modern edifice. Dio-

ⁿ Pausan. lib. v. ^o Lib. xiii. ^p Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. 21.

^q I do not pretend to have reduced all these measures to one scale. Perhaps the Greek, the French, and the English foot will be found to have been used. But this will make little difference. The English foot is $\frac{875}{10000}$ of an inch smaller than the Greek, and $\frac{8169}{10000}$ of an inch smaller than the French foot.

dorus computes the circumference of a temple at Thebes at a mile and a half: he states the height to have been 45 cubits, and the walls 24 feet thick. Pocock says, he found a temple which was 1400 feet long, and 350 wide; the ruins of it extended for half a mile. But as Greece and Rome are the usual standards to which we appeal for objects of grandeur and magnificence, I was anxious to point out the fact, that their utmost efforts had been surpassed by a people, who are called their degenerate descendants, in an age, which we look back upon as scarcely emerged from barbarism, and under a government, as destitute as possible of a spirit of liberty or national exertion.

In the above statement of proportions I have taken no notice of the height: but in this S. Peter's stands even more preeminent. Its height is perhaps the utmost limit to which the enterprise of man has ever yet carried any structure: as there is reason to believe that no building of ancient or modern date ever exceeded the height of 485 French feet, which is that of S. Peter's. The pyramid of Gyges reaches 448, that of Chephren 398. I take these relative heights from a German work upon the cathedral of Cologne. It should be stated, that Greaves makes the height of the largest pyramid 499 feet'. Other accounts say 466, and scarcely any two travellers agree as to the height, circumference,

¹ Vid. Pocock,

or (what seems still more extraordinary) the number of steps. We therefore need not be surprised, that Herodotus makes the circumference of the largest pyramid 800 feet, Diodorus 700, and Strabo less than 600. It may be mentioned also, that the spire of old S. Paul's (the height of which seems to have varied after different repairs) was at one period 520 feet high. But great part of this was of wood.

After one more remark on another point, in which S. Peter's exceeds any other building, I will proceed to its history. The cupola of this church is the largest in the world: nor need we here, as before, appeal to any edifice of the ancient Greeks or Romans, to institute a comparison: for it seems to be allowed, that the cupola, such as is that of S. Peter's, is an invention of more modern date. It was the boast of Michael Angelo, when he contemplated the idea of the cupola of S. Peter's, that he would raise the dome of the Pantheon aloft into the air. Nor is this a bad description of the modern dome, compared with the ancient. That of the Pantheon may be described as merely an elongation of the walls, which instead of terminating abruptly, and supporting an angular or horizontal roof, are continued in a curve, and form a concave covering to the building. Such are all the domes which the ancients seem to have thought of constructing: but the cupola of S. Peter's, supported as it is, not upon the walls of the building, but upon four independent columns, is

surely a much greater effort of skill; and the architect who first conceived the idea deserves assuredly a greater share of praise, than all those who have merely copied the models of the ancients.

Pausanias mentions six temples with domes to them in Greece; viz. at Athens, Epidaurus, Sparta, Elis, Mantinea, and Orchomenus. Circular temples were by no means uncommon; and if the term *Tholus*, which is what Pausanias uses in describing that at Epidaurus, always meant a round temple, we have accounts of the situation of several. But a circular temple with a dome is evidently not the same thing as a church surmounted by a cupola, like that of S. Peter's. Round temples were perhaps more common with the Romans than the Grecians: some of them were angular on the outside, and circular within, as is the case with the temple of Diana at Baia. There are also two other round temples at Baia, one of which receives its light from above, like the Pantheon. At Rome we have another specimen, in what is called the temple of Minerva Medica, which is decagonal, and great part of the dome remains^r.

What comes nearest to the modern plan of supporting a cupola is the church of S. Stefano

^r Sextus Rufus mentions the Pantheon of Minerva Medica in this quarter of the city. It has been called also the temple of Hercules Callaicus, and the Basilica of Caius and Lucius. It generally goes by the name of Galluccio, which is thought to be a corruption from Caius and Lucius.

Rotondo on the Cælian hill, already alluded to at p. 377 : but this very building furnishes a decisive proof that the ancients were ignorant of the mechanism employed by Brunelleschi and M. Angelo. In this temple, supposed to be of the age of Claudius, there is a circular row of thirty-four pillars, with arches springing from one to the other, and supporting the outer wall of the building. This was certainly one step towards the modern cupola : for if we suppose the number of these pillars to be diminished, and the height of the arches increased, the principle of construction would be nearly attained. But Desgodetz, who surveyed the building accurately, says, that he cannot make out what kind of roof there was originally, as the walls are too weak to support such a dome as would have been required. And in the area in the interior of these pillars, we have actually two columns higher than the rest, supporting a cross-wall, which must have been intended to support the roof ; just as if a wall extended from the pillar of S. Veronica to that of S. Longinus in S. Peter's, to support the vaulted cupola.

The church of S. Sophia at Constantinople (built under Justinian in the sixth century) seems to have been the first where a cupola was constructed on the principle of that at S. Peter's. The architects were Anthemius and Isidorus, whose names deserve to be recorded. The diameter of it is 113 French feet : but the height

from the ground is only 180 feet*. The art seems to have been preserved during the ages which we call barbarous; and St. Mark's at Venice, which was built about 973, and the cathedral at Pisa, a work of the eleventh century, contain similar domes. M. Angelo made his attempt upon a dome, which was the largest of any left to us by the ancients: but Bramante must certainly claim the merit of having first designed the cupola of S. Peter's: and Brunelleschi had already executed one at the cathedral of Florence, which is only less than the other by thirteen feet in height, and fifteen in breadth. M. Angelo is said to have entertained such an admiration for this work of Brunelleschi at Florence, that he expressed a wish to have his tomb in S. Croce placed in such a situation, that the cupola of the cathedral might be visible from it. The oldest church in Rome with a cupola to it is said to be that of S. Agostino, built in 1483.

That St. Peter (after his crucifixion on the site of S. Pietro in Montorio) was interred on the spot where now stands the Basilica, which bears his name, has been a constant tradition of the Roman church. An oratory is said to have been erected over his remains by S. Anacletus, who was pope from 83 to 96, and had received ordination from St. Peter. The cathedral which preceded the

* Plans and views of this church may be seen in the *Travels of Grelot*. Paris, 1680.

present structure, was erected by Constantine in 324, at the request of S. Sylvester, who was then pope. Baronius mentions, that in pulling down part of the old church some bricks were found with this inscription, CONSTANTINVS. AVG. D. N. and on the tribune of the old church was this distich :

Quod duce te Mundus surrexit in astra triumphans,
Hanc Constantinus Victor tibi condidit aulam.

Coins also have been found with the figure of our Saviour on one side, and of Constantine and Helena on the other. In the order of time this was not the first of Constantine's churches ; as he had before this built the Basilica at the Lateran palace. According to ancient accounts, the emperor himself took up a spade to dig for the foundations, and carried on his shoulders twelve baskets full of soil, in honour of the twelve Apostles.

A tolerable idea may be formed of the elevation and the plan of this structure, from some paintings, which still exist in the Grotte Vaticane, immediately under the high altar of the present building. They were executed by order of Paul V. The front is also represented in the fresco painting of Raffael in the Vatican, which is known by the name of the fire of Borgo S. Pietro. Some portion of the interior is also given in the painting of the same series, which represents the coronation of Charlemagne. There was a kind of square building in front, which

some writers call Quadriporticus, which was also built by Constantine, and about the year 678 was flagged with large stones by pope Domnus, having been paved in mosaic by Constantine. It was called Quadriporticus because there was a colonnade round each side of the square. The dimensions of the sides were 280 palms by 256. The ascent to it on the east side was by thirty-five steps. This inclosure was sometimes called Paradisus. The entrance to the portico from the east was by three doors: that into the church, at the other side of it, was by five.

The architecture seems to have been by no means handsome, but in a rude and degenerate Grecian style, which may be seen in some churches of the same date still existing here. Part of the original pavement may still be seen, which is composed of very irregular fragments. This portion of the ancient cathedral is said to have been built over the burial-ground of the Christians who suffered in the early persecutions, and was accordingly preserved in building the new fabric, which was raised twelve feet above it. Copious plans and descriptions of the old church may be seen in two works published at Rome by Ciampini^t and Bonanni^u. The whole length to the end of the tribune was 528 palms: the whole width 285: the length of the transepts was 390, the width of them 70. The greatest

^t Upon the buildings of Constantine.

^u Numismata Summorum Pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia, Romæ 1696.

height was 170. The middle aisle was 106 palms wide. The five aisles were divided by one hundred pillars, in four parallel rows: those in the nave were 40 palms high, the others were lower. The capitals were Corinthian, and the marble was of different kinds. It was all built of brick; and the interior was entirely covered with mosaics and paintings. The roof was of wood, the beams and rafters of which were exposed to view. Great part of the materials came from the adjoining Circus, which Constantine destroyed.

It may be remarked, that the old church did not stand east and west, as all the old churches in our own country do; and the entrance rather faced the west. Other examples will be found of this in Rome. The custom of making the fronts of temples face the west, existed very generally with the Pagans. Vitruvius mentions it as desirable, if the situation would permit, so that a person walking up to the altar may look to the east. The contrary custom was also very ancient; and Porphyry* goes so far as to say, that it was so with nearly all the ancient temples; and we know that it was so with that at Jerusalem. The Christians seem at first to have made their churches face the west; and some of the Fathers notice an apostolical tradition which enjoined such a custom. The eastern churches follow the opposite plan, making them face the east. There was a good reason for making St. Peter's face the west, because the approach from

* De antro Nymph.

the city naturally required the entrance to be on that side; otherwise a person would have had to go round the church, before he could get into it. S. Leo, in one of his sermons^y, mentions with regret, that people were accustomed, as soon as they had ascended the steps of St. Peter's, to turn round and bow towards the rising sun; which, he says, gave him great pain, as proceeding partly from ignorance, and partly from a spirit of paganism.

Gregory the First, or the Great, repaired the roof in 602, and some accounts make him to have procured timber for that purpose *de Partibus Britannorum*. But Baronius clearly proves, that Britain is erroneously said to have contributed towards the repair of the sacred edifice, and that we ought to read *Brutinorum*, as the timber came from Calabria. Anastasius in his Life of Honorius I. tells us, that that pope about 630 removed to the roof of S. Peter's some brazen tiles, which were upon the temple of Venus and Romulus. Platina says, that they came from the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus: but the former account is more probable. In 1341, Benedict XII. put on an entirely new roof; on which occasion a beam of extraordinary size is said to have been taken down, which was put up by Constantine. Birds had built their nests in it; and even foxes were found to have taken up their abode in it!

Pope Nicolas V. has the merit of having be-

^y De Nativ. vii. c. 4.

gun the new structure in 1450, but he only finished part of the tribune, which at his death was not raised more than $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet from the ground. His architects were Bernardino Rosellini and Leon Battista Alberti, both of Florence. Under the two following popes the work does not appear to have been continued. His immediate successor was Calixtus III. who is said to have repaired the windows, and to have strengthened the left-hand wall, which was in a falling state. But these expressions must relate to the old church, and it does not appear that he furthered the design of building a new one. Paul II. who reigned from 1464 to 1471, went on with it. But Julius II. contributed more than any of his predecessors to the furtherance of this immortal work. It is asserted by Vasari^{*}, that he was animated to the undertaking by the magnificent design for his own tomb, which Michael Angelo had just completed.

The celebrated Bramante Lazzari was his architect, to whom the original idea of the cupola is to be ascribed. He commenced his labours in 1503, and half the old church was at once pulled down to enable him to execute his plans. It is said, that M. Angelo (who was then 29 years old, and employed upon the tomb, as mentioned above) regretted the precipitancy with which this demolition was carried on^{*}. Ju-

^{*} Vol. ii. p. 83. and vol. iii. p. 211.

^{*} There is some difficulty as to the year when M. Angelo

lius laid the first stone himself on the 18th of April, 1506, and marked it with appropriate inscriptions. It was deposited under one of the four pillars which support the cupola, where is now the statue of S. Veronica. In the following year two of the other pillars were begun upon; and Bramante lived to see all the four raised as high as the cornice, and the arches completed, which spring from one to the other. Each of the pillars was 59 feet in diameter. It would seem, however, that there was some defect in Bramante's work; for Serlio says of it, "It may be perceived, that Bramante in forming a design was bolder than he was circumspect: because so vast and massy a work should have an excellent foundation, on which it might stand secure, and not be built upon four bows or arches of such an height. In confirmation of my remark, the four pillars and also the arches, without any other weight upon them, have already settled and sunk, and in some places even cracked." Serlio wrote his book about 1544, and it will be seen, that M. Angelo found it necessary to strengthen these pillars. M. Angelo has also the credit of having supplied Bra-

first came to Rome. Condivi says, (p. 16.) that it was in 1503, the first year of Julius' Pontificate. Roscoe, in his admirable life of Leo X. vol. iv. p. 298. decides this to be wrong, but says, that it certainly was not later than 1505. Yet if Bonanni (whom I have followed) is right in saying that Bramante commenced in 1503, and if the two anecdotes mentioned of M. Angelo in the text are also true, he must have been in Rome in 1503.

mante with an improved plan for the wooden machinery to support the arches, before they were finished.

Bramante did not live to see the cupola completed according to his original design; but dying in 1514, was buried with honourable solemnities in part of the new building. Two coins were struck, one of Julius II. the other of Leo X. on the reverses of which the front of the Basilica is represented according to the plan of Bramante. There was to have been a projecting portico of six columns, with a dome at the top of it. At each extremity of the front there was a high narrow tower of four stories. He intended to have adopted the form of the Latin cross: and in Serlio's Book upon Architecture^b may be seen the ground plan of it, as designed by Raffael after Bramante's death. The interior would have consisted of a nave and two aisles, with two semicircular projections in lieu of transepts.

Leo X. who succeeded Julius in 1513, inherited his zeal for promoting the fine arts, and under him the building of St. Peter's was continued with increased energy. It is well known, that both Julius and Leo carried to a much greater length than any of their predecessors the sale of indulgences. The justification of such a measure was principally taken from the desire entertained by the Roman pontiff for rebuilding the

^b Lib. iii. c. 4.

church of St. Peter: and as the Reformation is certainly to be ascribed in a great degree to the offence raised by this scandalous traffic, we may say without aiming at a paradox, that the efforts of the Catholics to beautify their Metropolitan church contributed in some degree to produce the Reformation^c.

Leo's first architects were Giuliano da Sangallo and Giovanni da Verona: to whom was added the celebrated painter, Raffael. That this great man excelled in architecture, as well as in his favourite study, is perhaps not generally known. But at the revival of the art of painting, and for some time after, there were few professors of it, who did not also employ themselves in giving architectural designs. Raffael acquired not a little fame in this department of art: and the chapel of the Chigi family in the church of S. Maria del Popolo, which was built upon his designs, is considered a fine specimen of his talents that way. Leo X. among his other magnificent projects, had thoughts of rebuilding Rome upon a scale suitable to its former grandeur, and Raffael was employed by him to collect designs^d.

^c Since writing this sentence, I find the same sentiment in the History of the Council of Trent, written by Pallavicini, c. i. p. 49.

^d Vide a Letter from C. Calcagnini to J. Ziegler, which is among some letters published together with the two Epistles of Clement, London, 1687. From an expression in this Letter, Raffael seems to have had the chief direction of the building of St. Peter's.

A Letter or rather Report, addressed by Raffael to the Pope upon this subject, is still extant^e.

It was in the year 1515 that he was employed by Leo in the building of St. Peter's, having been immortalizing himself by his paintings in the Vatican since 1508. An original letter of his upon the occasion of his receiving the appointment being still preserved, I may perhaps be excused in translating part of it^f. "His Holiness in conferring an honour upon me has placed a great load upon my shoulders: this is the superintendence of the building of St. Peter's. I hope, that I shall not sink under it: and the more so, as the plan, which I have made for it, pleases his Holiness, and is commended by many men of genius. But I raise my thoughts even higher. I could wish to reach the beautiful forms of the ancient buildings; nor can I tell whether my flight will be like that of Icarus. Vitruvius affords me great lights, but not enough." Two letters, addressed to him by Cardinal Bembo in the name of Leo, are also extant^g, from which it appears, that Bramante on his death-bed pointed him out as a fit successor; that he was to receive

^e It is published in the Appendix to Roscoe's Life of Leo X. No. ccxi.

^f I take this from a Collection of original Letters from Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, published by Bottari, in seven volumes: a very interesting work, and generally quoted under the name of *Lettere Pittoriche*, vide vol. i. p. 84.

^g These are published by Roscoe, Appendix, No. ccix. and ccx. from Bembo Epist. Pontif. lib. ix. epp. 13 et 51.

300 gold crowns (*aurei*) a year; and any marble dug up within ten miles of Rome was to be put at his disposal.

From this and the other works, which were more immediately suited to his genius, Raffael was cut off by a premature death in 1520, at the age of 37. San-Gallo had died three years before him, in 1517. Neither he nor his colleagues did much more than strengthen the four pillars, which had been raised by Bramante; but the plan which Raffael conceived may be seen in the work of Serlio^b.

After this, Leo committed the work to Baldassar Peruzzi, who, despairing of money or time to complete Bramante's plan, intended to adopt the Greek cross. Peruzzi's plan is also engraved by Serlio, and by Bonanni. It would have been a perfect square: at each angle there was to be a square tower; and between each of these angles was a semicircular projection. The diameter of the cupola in its widest part was to be 188 palms. Leo died in 1521, and for twelve years after his death little or nothing was added to the work. His successor Adrian VI. did not live two years after his elevation; and Clement VII. saw the city entered and pillaged by the German-Spanish army, which supported the cause of Charles V. Peruzzi however finished the tribune during his reign.

Paul III. (a Farnese, who reigned from 1534

^b Lib. iii. c. 4.

to 1549,) employed Antonio San-Gallo, nephew to Giuliano, who again changed the plan to a Latin cross. His design may still be seen in the church: but its rejection seems to have been merited. The pillars were much too large and the aisles too small to produce a pleasing effect. The front was crowded to excess with columns and windows. The two towers, which were to rise from the extremities of it, were still more overloaded; and he seems to have been fond of little pinnacles or pyramids, which concealed the building behind, and could not in themselves produce any effect of grandeur. Bramante's design for the cupola was much more simple; it was to have been surrounded with one row of Corinthian pillars at the lowest part of it, but the rest of the curvature was to be plain. Antonio had two tiers of pillars and arches, one above the other, the lower Ionic, the upper Corinthian: at the top of the cupola were two more successive rows, and over all was a pyramid or cone ending in a ball; so that the simple majesty of the dome was entirely lost. The length of the church was to have been 1040 palms; the whole height 636. Fortunately for the success of the edifice, San-Gallo did not live long enough to execute his plans. He strengthened the supports of the cupola still farther, and died in 1546. He was buried in the Basilica.

Upon his death the work was entrusted to the immortal M. Angelo. He was now about 72 years of age. The brief, by which the pope en-

trusted M. Angelo with the building, is still in existence. The pope had been charmed with a model, which that great architect had executed for the Basilica, and in this letter he gives him the fullest powers to alter and pull down what his predecessors had done, to command and control all the other persons employed, in short to be entirely absolute in following his own designs. In 1549 Paul III. died. His successor was Julius III. who was soon assailed with complaints from all sides, of the overbearing temper of M. Angelo, and of his opposition to the plans and labours of the most experienced artists. It should be mentioned, that this great man was working all the time without pay, having refused the repeated offers of Paul III. who would have given him 100 gold crowns a month. Julius however was sensible of the merits of the architect, and of the envious malignity of his calumniators. In January 1552 he sent him a new diploma, confirming him in the entire and uncontrolled management of the fabric. Notwithstanding this countenance given him by the sovereign pontiff, his enemies seem to have continued their clamours and impediments; and he would willingly have retired to end his days at Florence, where his presence was most eagerly desired, if he had not postponed every consideration of private peace and tranquillity to the importance of the work, on which he was engaged.

Several of his letters to his friends are extant, in which he speaks these sentiments. An extract

may be given from one of them, which seems to have been written about the year 1556. It is to G. Vasari, and begins with these words: "My dear friend George, I call God to witness, that I was engaged against my will and with very great reluctance by Pope Paul III. in the building of St. Peter's 10 years ago: and if the construction of that building had been followed up to the present day in the manner it was then, I should now be arrived at such a point in the building, that I should turn to it with delight: but from want of money it has proceeded and still proceeds very slowly, just as it is come to the most laborious and difficult parts; so that by abandoning it now, the only consequence would be, that with excessive shame and impropriety I should lose the reward of the fatigues, which I have endured these ten years for the love of God." He concludes, "To make you understand the consequence of abandoning the said building, in the first place, I should satisfy several scoundrels, and I should be the occasion of its falling to ruin, and perhaps of its being shut up for ever¹." Vasari also in a letter to M. Angelo alludes to the cruelties exercised upon the works of that great man, and advises him to fly from the ungrateful Babylon, which could not appreciate his merit².

The sublimity of his genius is to be seen more than the success of his execution in the designs

¹ *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. i. p. 5.

² *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 50.

which he followed. These principally consisted in alterations. He returned to Peruzzi's plan of a Greek cross, widened the tribune and transepts, and gave a much freer area than his predecessors had projected. The cupola also was erected by him on a design different from that which had been intended by the former architects. It is not my intention to describe in detail his execution of this wonderful work. Bonanni's book may be consulted by those, who interest themselves in such histories. The principal difference consisted in his constructing two domes, an inner and an outer one. The latter gave a greater majesty to the fabric when viewed from the exterior; and in the body of the church the eye is more gratified with having the cupola apparently nearer to it. With respect to the elevation of the front, his plan was far more simple than that of Antonio San-Gallo; but still it bears that striking characteristic of the Italian architects, a multiplicity of ornaments alternately advancing and receding. About two-thirds of it project out from the rest; and from this there was still another projection in a portico, which was supported by four columns. The architecture was Corinthian. In consequence of the Greek cross being adopted, nearly the whole of the dome would have been visible whenever the front was examined. M. Angelo died in 1563, at the advanced age of 89, having been employed nearly 18 years in the building. He completed what the Italians call the *Tamburo* of the dome,

i. e. the cylindrical part, which rises from the four pillars to the spring of the arch of the dome.

Many persons still lament that his ideas were ever departed from, and the Latin cross substituted for the Greek. It is difficult to deny, that a greater idea of space and grandeur is raised by the latter than by the former. When all the four members of the cross are equal, a person standing in the centre is likely to be more impressed with the proportions of the building, than when one limb being so much longer than the rest, the others appear less than they really are. The churches of S. Maria degli Angioli and S. Agnese in Rome, and La Trinita Maggiore at Naples, may be mentioned as fine specimens of the Greek cross, but especially the first¹.

The four pillars supporting this enormous cupola are stupendous masses of architecture; but from the admirable proportion observed in all the parts of this building, they are not so much observed, as they otherwise would be. No better notion can be conveyed of their prodigious dimensions, than by stating, that there is a church in the Via delle 4 Fontane, called S. Carlo, which is exactly the same size as one of

¹ Burke, in his *Essay on the Sublime and Beautiful*, (part ii. §. 9.) objects to the Greek cross, and indeed to any kind of cross, because it breaks the extension of the building. But he is speaking of the effect only from the outside.

these pillars; nor does it appear particularly small in the inside. It was built in 1640 by Borromini^m. By a rough measurement of one of these pillars, they are near 240 feet in circumference. M. Angelo insisted earnestly, that nothing should be added or altered in his design. Bernini afterwards undertook to make a staircase within each of the columns. Just as they had hollowed and prepared the inside of one of them, (that in front of which the statue of S. Veronica now stands,) the whole building gave a crash, and the Italian tradition says, it was as loud as thunder. They put up the stairs in that, but would not attempt any more of them. Some accounts say, however, that there existed originally a well for a staircase, and that Bernini only put the steps in itⁿ.

The work went on during the Pontificate of S. Pius V. (1566-72) under Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola and Pio Ligorio, who were charged by the Pope to follow in every thing the designs of Michael Angelo. Giacomo della Porta continued it under Gregory XIII. (1572-85,) and under Sextus V. completed the cupola. Dome-

^m This is the account of the Roman guides. Ramsay (in Spence's Anecdotes, §. i. p. 41.) says, "each of the four columns "takes up as much ground as a little chapel and convent, (S. Silvestro by the 4 Fontane,) in which one of the architects "employed in that work lived." This must be a mistake. There is no church of S. Silvestro by the 4 Fontane, and the church of S. Carlo was evidently built subsequently to the dome of St. Peter's.

ⁿ This anecdote is from Spence.

nico Fontana was united with him in the work, and the zeal of Sextus being as great if not greater than that of any of his predecessors, 600 workmen were employed night and day, and the money expended was at the rate of 100000 gold crowns per annum. This incessant labour completed the cupola in the short space of twenty-two months, it being finished by May 1590, all except the outer covering of lead. It was calculated, that 500 pounds weight of rope was used in the finishing of this dome, and 30000 pounds weight of iron. Above 1100 beams were employed in one story only of the dome, 100 of which were so large that two men could not embrace them. The architects traced their design on the floor of St. Paul's, part of which may still be seen.

Paul V. (Borghese) ascended the papal throne in 1605, and pursued the work with as much eagerness as any of his predecessors. The most astonishing part of the fabric, the cupola, was now finished; but great part of the original church was still standing at the east end, or near the entrance; so that there were in a manner two separate churches: one shewing the taste of the fourth century, and the piety and magnificence of Constantine: the other exhibiting, by way of contrast, what was the state of the arts, and what were the resources of the catholic church, thirteen hundred years afterwards. Paul V. was animated with a desire of seeing the new fabric completed in his reign; and being

assured from various quarters that the old walls were in a most ruinous condition, he lost no time in ordering their demolition. Carlo Maderno was the principal architect employed: preparations were made for erecting the front or grand entrance, and the Pope laid the first stone in person the 18th of February, 1608. Maderno returned to the original plan of the Latin cross, and finished the whole in 1612. The portico was completed in 1614.

The colonnade was added by Alexander VII. (1655-67,) with the architecture of Bernini. Pius VI. (1775-800) built the sacristy, and gilded the ceiling of the interior. So that to bring St. Peter's to its present form required three centuries and a half; and up to 1694 it was calculated, that forty-seven millions of scudi (upwards of ten and a half millions sterling) had been expended upon it.

I have said, that the front erected by Carlo Maderno is the least successful part of the whole fabric. This is a remark which is made by many, indeed by most foreigners. All come to Rome with their expectations raised to the highest pitch from the accounts which they have read of St. Peter's, and many are disappointed with the first view. If the utmost stretch of imagination was not far exceeded in the splendor of the interior, I should perhaps dwell more upon this disappointment in the first view of the exterior: but it is surely not merely national prejudice, which prefers the front of St. Paul's in London to that

of St. Peter's. I speak merely of architectural design; for in dimensions it is well known that our English cathedral is far inferior; though this perhaps is not much thought of in viewing either building, because the other cannot be compared with it at the time. The black and dingy aspect of St. Paul's, affords a melancholy contrast to the whiteness of St. Peter's; but in noticing some of the defects of the latter, it may perhaps be allowed, that a decisive balance may be drawn in favour of St. Paul's. It must again be repeated, that I am now only talking of the fronts of the two buildings. As to the approach to each of them, and the points of view from which they are first seen, both labour under great disadvantages: but the association of ideas is perhaps in favour of our own cathedral. Both of them want an open space, in which their beauty and magnificence may have room to display themselves; and the approach to both of them is by narrow streets; but in London it is merely the closeness and narrowness of the way which is disadvantageous: the approach to St. Paul's is certainly close and crowded, but still in arriving at it we have been led through a line of industry and opulence, through a succession of objects which attest our present greatness, to this monument of the wealth and zeal of our predecessors. Whereas the approach to St. Peter's is not only narrow, but mean: the metropolitan church of Christendom not only stands in a remote and dirty part of the city, but in one which peculiarly

shews the poverty and wretchedness of the inhabitants.

The objections which I make to the front itself are these. In the first place there is no projecting portico to break the long line of building which this front presents; and the multiplicity of pilasters, windows, and recesses, which Italian taste has so liberally bestowed, produces an effect by no means imposing. In the centre is the balcony, from which the pope delivers his benediction at Easter; and many will perhaps agree, that the faults here mentioned are principally owing to the necessity of introducing such a recess°. In fact, the front is not at all in the style

* Some persons may be gratified by seeing the form of this Benediction. " S. S. Apostoli Petrus et Paulus, de quorum " potestate et auctoritate confidimus, ipsi intercedant pro nobis " ad Dominum. Amen.

" Precibus et meritis Beatæ Mariæ semper Virginis, Beati " Michaelis Archangeli, Beati Joannis Baptistæ et S. S. Aposto- " lorum Petri et Pauli, et omnium Sanctorum, misereatur vestri " Omnipotens Deus, et dimissis omnibus peccatis vestris per- " ducat vos Jesus Christus ad vitam æternam. Amen.

" Indulgentiam, Absolutionem et Remissionem omnium pec- " catorum vestrorum, spatium veræ et fructuosæ pœnitentiæ, " cor semper pœnitens, et emendationem vitæ, gratiam et con- " solationem Sancti Spiritus, et finalem perseverantiam in bonis " operibus tribuat vobis omnipotens et misericors Dominus. " Amen.

" Et Benedictio Dei Omnipotentis, Patris, Filii, et Spiritus " Sancti descendat super vos, et maneat semper. Amen."

Not a syllable of this can be heard by the thousands below: but as soon as it is delivered, a cardinal deacon reads two plenary indulgences, one in Latin, the other in Italian, and the

usually assigned to a religious building, but gives more the idea of a palace. As there is no projecting portico, the pediment, which is over the four centre pillars, is rather unmeaning; and being out-topped by the attic story, it is only a triangle let into the wall, without forming a finish to the whole, as a pediment is usually expected to do. The general effect would perhaps be much improved, if the whole of this attic were away, by which means much more of the dome would be seen. As the building is at present, this, which is the most wonderful and majestic part of the whole fabric, makes very little shew from this point of view. Had the Greek cross been adopted, more of it would probably have been seen: and from these two causes, viz. the length of the nave, and the height of the front, the dome, which ought to astonish the spectator at the first view, presents but a small portion to the eye; and hence no doubt is great part of the disappointment which is so generally complained of. It should be mentioned, that the eight half-pillars in this façade are nearly nine feet (English) in diameter, which is greater than that of the pillars in any modern building. Fragments belonging to the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Girgenti, shew the half-pillars there to have been eleven feet in diameter.

After having passed the long narrow street

papers containing them are thrown down and caught with the greatest eagerness by the people.

mentioned above, the spectator finds himself in the Piazza de' Rusticucci, an irregular open space, 246 feet long by 204 wide, which leads him into another open space immediately in front of St. Peter's, and almost inclosed by a colonnade, which stretches out in a curved line from each extremity of the building. Objections may be brought to the taste and to the design of this colonnade; but we must be scrupulous indeed to deny it the effect of grandeur. A semicircular or rather a semielliptical colonnade on each side, inclosing a space of 728 feet by 606, with four rows of pillars, through the centre of which two carriages may pass, and of which pillars there are in all 256, besides 48 pilasters, surmounted on the top with 192 statues of saints, each eleven feet high, must at least produce the effect of much magnificence. Nearly at the entrance of the colonnade stood the house of Raffael, designed by Bramante; but this and several other buildings were removed in 1660, to improve the approach to St. Peter's.

If the whole stood in an open unconfined space, with an approach through a wide handsome street, the colonnade would perhaps be more approved of than it is at present. It was built by Bernini, as stated above, during the pontificate of Alexander VII. He chose a mixture of orders, which some critics may object to, but it is as little offensive as any union of different styles can be. The bases of the pillars are Tuscan, the capitals are Doric, and the shafts and

cornices Ionic. The curved colonnades do not commence immediately from the cathedral, but are a continuation of two straight lines of columns of equal breadth, which go off from each extremity of the front, but not at right angles, for a distance of 296 feet. The area within this colonnade is the place from which the front of St. Peter's must be examined ; not that the effect of it from this spot is altogether happy, as has been complained of above, but because from the narrowness of the streets leading to it, no view can be obtained of it before. The motley and incongruous buildings of the Vatican form also another great eye-sore. In the centre of the area is an Egyptian obelisk of granite, for an account of which the reader is referred to page 232, where was stated that it does not stand exactly in the centre. On either side of it is a fountain of peculiar elegance and simplicity. The whole width of the front is 396 feet, the height 159.

There are five open entrances, which lead into a covered portico, extending along the whole front, and continued beyond it at either end ; so that the whole length of the portico is 468 feet by 40 wide. The true magnificence of St. Peter's begins here. At either end is an equestrian statue ; that on the right is of Constantine, that on the left of Charlemagne : the first the founder of the old cathedral, the latter one of the greatest benefactors of the holy see. There are five doors leading into the church : the principal one in the centre is not generally used, except on great ce-

remonies. The bronze doors belonged to the old cathedral, and were executed in 1445, in the pontificate of Eugenius IV. who employed Antonio Filarete, and Simone, brother of Donato. The bas-reliefs represent the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul. Some circumstances attending the Council of Florence, which was held by this pope, are also introduced. Near the martyrdom of St. Peter are some old buildings, which existed in the time of Eugenius. Some profane subjects are also introduced. . Honorius I. in 630, had placed silver doors here, but the silver was carried off by the Saracens in 846. Leo IV. replaced it. Three curious inscriptions may be seen near this door-way : 1, the bull of Boniface VIII. in 1300, granting an indulgence for every year of jubilee : 2, elegiac verses, composed by Charlemagne in 796, upon Pope Adrian I. : and 3, the donation made by St. Gregory II. of many estates to the Basilica. We may mention here that there was a stone near the silver gate of the old church, under which the venerable Bede was said to be buried^p. Bede died in 735, but the tradition of his being buried here is probably false. The stone was afterwards used for the pope to stand upon when he received the horse, which was sent by the king of Naples.

Opposite to this entrance is a representation in Mosaic of the *Navicella*, as it is called, painted

^p Mallius in Vatic. p. 117. Honorius August. de Lumin. Eccles.

by Giotto in 1300; the original drawing for which may be seen over the entrance door of the church of the Capucins in the Piazza Barberini. It was executed by the order of Cardinal Giacomo Gaetano Stefaneschi, who paid 2200 gold florins for it. It represents St. Peter walking upon the sea, and Christ supporting him. This is one of the ornaments which came from the old church, having stood over the east entrance to the Quadriporticus. When this building was destroyed, the Mosaic was removed, and it changed its situation two or three times, till Cardinal Barberini had it fixed in its present situation. Giotto was also employed by Benedict XII. in repairing the Mosaics, which were upon the arch of the tribune of the old Basilica.

Another of these five doors is called the Porta Santa: it is blocked up with brickwork, and only opened by the pope himself in the year of jubilee. It was Boniface VIII. who first established a year of jubilee in 1300, in imitation of an imaginary precedent 100 years before; and it was intended to have it celebrated every 100 years. But after the expiration of the first half century, Clement VI. celebrated it again in 1350; upon which occasion Matteo Villani gives a curious account of the throng in Rome. In 1380 Urban VI. again celebrated it, and ordered it to be observed every 30 years; in 1475 Sixtus IV. changed it to every 25 years, which custom has been observed ever since: the last solemnization of it having been by Pius VI. in 1800. Upon

this occasion the Porta Santa is opened by the Pope himself. On the eve of Christmas-day he commences the operation of pulling down the brickwork, by giving three blows with a silver hammer. Over the door is a block of red and white marble, which is rather rare, and from its situation here this sort is known at Rome by the name of Porta Santa. Three other Basilicæ have a Porta Santa, where the same custom of opening it is observed; the Lateran, S. Maria Maggiore, and St. Paul's. The dates of the two last Jubilees are always preserved over the door; when a new one is put up, the oldest of the two others is removed.

It is impossible to undertake a task of greater difficulty, than to describe the interior of St. Peter's: whatever disappointment may have been felt upon the first view of the outside, every thing within is transcendent and astonishing. It is highly ornamented, without being gaudy: it is vast, but yet the different parts can easily be separated: every thing is grand, costly, and magnificent. Nor can we ever sufficiently wonder, that a building, which required three centuries to finish it, and which must consequently have fallen into the hands of so many Pontiffs of different views, and so many architects of different tastes, should bear no marks of the precipitate vanity of the one, anxious to complete the edifice in their own reign, nor of the dissimilar and discordant designs of the other. This, which is the greatest building of modern times,

and greater than any temple which ancient Greece or Rome could boast, does not appear at the first sight to be so prodigious in its dimensions. This is indeed the principal excellence of the whole: it is the beautiful adaptations of the proportions, which distinguishes this edifice from every other. Accordingly there are many objects which seem small, or only of the common size, which are really far above it. As an instance of this, the two angels may be mentioned, which support the fonts on the first pillars of the nave; they have the appearance of representing children, but are really larger than the natural size of a man. So also the dove with an olive branch in its mouth, which occurs so frequently in this cathedral, (being the arms of Innocent X. Pamfili,) and forms an ornament on each of the pillars of the nave, seems to be easily within reach of every person, but can with difficulty be reached by the hand of the tallest.

In the nave there are only three arches, and only one in the tribune, but notwithstanding this, the eye can scarcely distinguish what is at the end of the church, so prodigious and at the same time so correct are the proportions. The whole length is 609 feet, the width of the nave 91: the length of the transepts is 445. Upon the floor, which is composed of large blocks of marble of singular beauty, and disposed in various devices, are marked the lengths of some of the principal churches in Europe: that of St. Paul's in London comes next, being 521 feet long; then that of

Milan, 439; then that of St. Paul's at Rome, and lastly that of S. Sophia at Constantinople, which is only 357.

Nothing forms so striking an ornament in this cathedral, as the profusion of marble, which is introduced into every part; much of this is ancient, and the varieties are of the greatest rarity and beauty. This, together with the gilded roof, the statues, the monuments, the Mosaic ceilings and pictures, forms a display of brilliant and unexampled magnificence, which requires weeks and almost years to contemplate. The only thing to be regretted is, that the great pilasters between the arches of the nave are not in marble, but stucco: this however is little perceptible to the eye, and requires perhaps to be pointed out, before it would be complained of. These pilasters are 83 feet high, and in them are statues of the founders of various religious orders, many of them executed by great artists, and of singular beauty: there are more of them in the transepts, and the following is an alphabetical list of them, with a short account of their lives.

ÆMILIANUS. Born in 1481 at Venice. He was at first a soldier, and established his order for the benefit of orphans at Somasco, a village between Milan and Bergamo, about the year 1531. Augustins.

BENEDICTUS. Born in 480, or, as some say, 452, at Nursia, in the country of the Sabines. He first took to a religious life at Sublacum (Subiaco): he established a monastery at Monte Cassino, where he died March 21, 542, and was buried there.

BRUNO. Born in 1021 at Cologne. He founded the Carthusian order in 1080. The name was taken from a place called Chartreuse in Dauphine, to which he retired. He died 1101, and was canonized 1514. Benedictines.

CAMILLUS DE LELLIS. Born in 1550 at Buccianico in Abruzzo. He was at first a soldier, and having been twice cured in an hospital, he founded his order for relieving the sick in 1591. He died July 14, 1614, at Rome.

CAIETANUS. Ordo Clericorum Regularium.

CALASANCTIUS JOSEPHUS. Ordo Scholarum Piarum.

DOMINICUS. Born in 1170 at Calaurega in Spain. He encouraged the Crusades against the Albigenses, and founded the Inquisition. He died August 5, 1223, at Bologna, and was canonized by Gregory IX. Augustins.

ELIAS. The Carmelites say, that they were the first to erect a chapel to the Virgin Mary, which they did A. D. 53 on Mount Carmel, and claim the Prophet Elias as founder of their society. They had no written rules till 1122.

FALCONIERI. Born 1270 at Florence. In 1317 she was elected superior of an order of Servites, and established a new one, which was confirmed in 1424. She died 1341.

FRANCISCUS. Born 1182 at Assisum near Spoleto. Innocent III. confirmed the order of Friars Minor in 1209. He died October 4, 1226, and was buried at Assisum. Augustins.

FRANCISCUS DE PAOLA. Born 1416 at Paola near Cosenza in Calabria. The order of Minims was confirmed in 1473. Louis XI. sent for him into France, and his son Francis was called after him. He died in 1507 at Tours. Augustins.

IGNATIUS LOYOLA. Born in 1492 at Loyola in Biscay:

established the order of Jesuits in 1540: died in 1556: canonized in 1622.

JOANNES DE DEO. Born in 1495 at Monte Major in Portugal: founded the order of Hospitality: died 1550. Augustins.

NERI FILIPPO. Born at Florence in 1515: founded the Congregation of the Oratory: died at Rome in 1595: canonized in 1622.

NOLASCO. Born at Lauraguais in Languedoc: formed a society in Spain for the redemption of captives in 1218. He himself was a layman, and died in 1286: canonized in 1628. Augustins.

NORBERTO. Born in 1082 near to Cleves: retired to Premontre, in the Bishopric of Laon, and founded the Præmonstratensian order in 1120: died in 1134: canonized 1582. Augustins.

PETRUS DE ALCANTARA. Born in 1499 at Alcantara in Estremadura. His reform was approved of in 1554: died in 1562: canonized in 1669.

THERESA. Born in 1515 at Avila in Spain. Though a woman, she was at the head of an order of men, which was confirmed in 1562, and called Nova Reformat. Ordo Discalc. B. M. de Monte Carmele. She died 1582.

VINCENTIUS A PAULO. Congreg. Missionis.

The object, which commands most attention from its situation as well as its costliness, is the *Baldacchino* or canopy, immediately under the dome and over the high altar. It is entirely of bronze, and the ornaments are mostly gilt: the four pillars, which support it, are twisted, and in other respects it is by no means in good taste, nor in unison with the majestic simplicity of the rest: but from its vast size and the richness of

the work it can hardly fail to be admired. The height of it is almost incredible: some accounts making it 122 feet from the floor; and it is a common saying, that it is as high as the Farnese palace, which is one of the loftiest in Rome. This is another proof of the admirable proportion which prevails in all the parts: for, standing as it does, in the centre of this stupendous edifice, its height appears by no means extraordinary. It was made in 1633 under the direction of Bernini, and the Bees dispersed about in all directions attest the pontificate of Urban VIII. of the Barberini family, who bear this device. The cost is estimated at 100000 *scudi* (£22727,) the gilding alone cost 40000 (£9091.) It is generally said, that it was made of the bronze taken from the Pantheon by Urban VIII. but this is denied by Fea, who relates, upon the authority of books now existing, that all the metal was bought in Venice. This has been already alluded to at p. 155,

Under this canopy is the high altar, which is only used on the most solemn ceremonies, and beneath it repose the bodies of St. Peter and St. Paul. That of St. Peter lies in the place where it was first buried. It is said that Pope Anacletus, while he was only a priest, constructed a chapel here in 106, which was called the Confessional of St. Peter, and inclosed the body of the apostle in a marble urn. Constantine is reported to have covered the urn with metal, so that it can never be seen. In the painting in the

Hall of Constantine, which represents the donation made by that emperor to Pope Sylvester of the city of Rome, the Tribune of the old church is introduced, and the Confessional over the tomb of St. Peter, round which are twelve spiral columns, eight of which are still preserved in the great pillars supporting the cupola. The descent to the shrine is by a double flight of steps, and 112 lamps are kept constantly burning round it. At the bottom of the steps it is intended to place the statue of Pius VI. which is being executed by Canova. The Pope is to be represented kneeling, and looking towards the tomb of the apostle : an appropriate attitude for a Roman pontiff : but considering the peculiar sanctity of the place, it would perhaps have been fitter that no other monument should occupy the spot : at least there seems no reason why Pius VI. should have an honour conferred upon him, greater than any of his predecessors since St. Peter himself.

Opposite to each arch of the nave is a chapel recessed back from the side aisles. These chapels are each of them well worthy of observation, from the splendid decorations, which have been bestowed upon them. Mosaic-work and the richest marbles are scattered about them with the greatest profusion, and almost all of them contain a specimen of that wonder of the art, pictures executed in Mosaic. There are altogether 29 altars in St. Peter's, over each of which is one of these Mosaic pictures, of which

some description may be here introduced. Several fine paintings were at different times executed for this church by the greatest masters, and for a time occupied the stations appointed to them: but it being found, that the walls of the church were too damp, it was very judiciously determined to remove the paintings to a safer place, and have copies taken of them in Mosaic. Consequently there is only one painting of any size or excellence in St. Peter's, and that is in oils upon the wall. It represents the fall of Simon Magus, painted by Francesco Vanni, and as the story is not canonical, it was not ordered to be copied in Mosaic. Such is the reason given; but if true, the government must afterwards have become less scrupulous, as another picture of the same subject by Battoni has been copied: the Mosaic is now in St. Peter's, and the original painting is in the Certosa. Simon Magus having gone to Rome before St. Peter arrived there, preached very heretical and immoral doctrines. He pleased Nero exceedingly, and gave out, that on a certain day he should ascend into heaven. The confederate dæmons assisted him in rising from the earth, but at the prayers of St. Peter, he fell to the ground, and fractured his legs; in consequence of which he died in the year 66 or 67. So says tradition! The paintings that were removed are mostly to be seen in the church of the Certosa, S. Maria degli Angioli. Copies were also taken of the

most celebrated paintings in other churches, and all of them are now in St. Peter's.

The building where this Mosaic-work is carried on is not far from the cathedral, and forms part of that which was (and I am afraid is still) used for the office of the Inquisition. The small pieces, which when put together compose the picture, are a vitrified substance called *Smalte*, compounded of glass, lead, and tin; and I was assured, that there are 15000 different shades of colour. When Urban VIII. first conceived the idea of substituting Mosaics for the paintings, the substance used was marble: and Gio. Battista Calendra of Vercelli copied the painting of Michael the archangel by Arpina. It was found, however, that there was too great a glare produced by the polish of the marble, and it ceased to be used as a material for Mosaic.

Of the skill of the ancients in Mosaic we have many proofs remaining, which have suffered but little from time, besides the testimony of Pliny, who mentions the excellence to which the art had attained. But there is no evidence to induce us to believe, that the ancients at all approached to the perfection which the moderns may boast. The art seems never to have been lost in Rome; and we have specimens remaining of almost every period of the middle ages, when painting can hardly be said to have existed. Tiraboschi^a shews, that under the Goths and

^a Tom. iii. part 1. p. 80, 149.

Lombards Mosaic-work was not neglected : and we may see a specimen of the eighth century at the *Scala Santa*, near the Lateran. This at least may be allowed to be one of the arts, in which the moderns have excelled the ancients : indeed it is impossible to conceive an adequate idea of the effect produced, without seeing these master-pieces in St. Peter's. At a distance and in certain lights even an experienced eye might fancy them to be paintings ; and as there is every reason to suppose that the colours are as durable as the substances themselves, after-ages will have to appeal to these pictures as a proof of the conception of a Raffael or a Domenichino, when the originals of those great masters have been totally obliterated. These Mosaic pictures cost about 20000 crowns (£4546) apiece. The best is said to be the martyrdom of S. Petronilla, the original of which is now in the Capitol. The Mosaics, which ornament the cupolas of the several chapels, and likewise the great cupola itself, (the whole interior of which is covered with them,) produce a most brilliant effect : but when viewed near, they are found to be executed in the roughest style, which is necessary for the distance at which they are seen.

The chapel, where the mass is daily celebrated, is on the left-hand upon entering the church. There is nothing particular to make it observable : the organ is a good one, and at vespers on Sunday evening there is always a great concourse of people, particularly of foreigners, to

hear the music, which is generally extremely beautiful. Sermons are preached here upon the customary occasions.

In the first chapel on the right hand, called that of the Crucifix, is a figure of the Virgin supporting a dead Christ, which is called, as such subjects always are, a *Pietà*. It is the work of Michael Angelo, and is considered one of his earliest performances, having been executed by him at the age of twenty-four, at the expence of John, Cardinal of S. Denis, ambassador from the King of France. Some have found fault with it, because the son is represented as an older person than his mother. Several copies of it may be seen in Rome and elsewhere. Marini has these lines upon it, which have been much admired^r:

Sasso non è costei
 Che l'estinto figliol freddo qual ghiaccio
 Sostien pietosa in braccio :
 Sasso piu presto sei,
 Tu, che non piangi alla pietà di lei.
 Anzi sei piu che sasso,
 Che suol' anco da' sassi il pianto uscire,
 E i sassi si spezzaro al suo morire.

She is not stone, who bears
 Her lifeless Son, with icy stiffness cold,
 In her arms' tenderest fold :
 But thou art stony grown,

^r Madrigale, 158.

Thou, who at grief like this hast shed no tears :
Nay thou art more than stone,
For rocks will weep, and pour a trickling tide,
And rocks were rent in twain, when Jesus died.

A list of some of the relics preserved in this chapel may be considered curious; such as some wood of the true cross; part of the cradle, the hay, and the manger, connected with the nativity; part of the veil of the Virgin Mary; some of her hair; part of Joseph's cloak and girdle; some ashes of John the Baptist; one finger of St. Peter; *le antichissime imagini* (whether in painting or sculpture is not stated) of St. Peter and St. Paul; St. Luke's head; one finger and one shoulder of St. Stephen. The pillar also is in this chapel, against which Christ leaned when he preached to the people. It is one of the twelve which will be mentioned presently, as having stood round the high altar in the old church.

In mentioning the curiosities of this church, the statue of St. Peter should not be omitted, which stands against the last pillar of the nave, near to the Baldacchino. A Roman antiquary^{*} informs us, that this was made by order of St. Leo out of the bronze of a statue of Jupiter Capitolinus; and that it was intended as an offering for St. Peter having liberated Rome from the fury of Attila. There was a marble statue of St. Peter outside of the old church over a gate in

^{*} Turrius de Crypt. Vat. p. 126.

the portico, which was held in great veneration, and is now in the *Grotte Vaticane*. The workmanship of the present one is extremely rude; and though it is called a bronze statue, it has much more the appearance of iron. It is the figure which is so frequently kissed by the faithful: no Catholic will pass it without going through the ceremony; and the usual form is to kiss the foot two or three times, pressing the forehead against it between each salutation: some will repeat each ceremony much oftener. The right foot projects for this purpose, and great part of it is worn away by the operation.

The tribune is extremely rich, but in bad taste, from a large glory, which forms the principal feature, and which is remarkable for being almost, if not absolutely, the only piece of stained glass in Rome. The bronze, which is used so plentifully in its decoration, is said to have come from the Pantheon, as well as that of which the Baldacchino is composed. Within a large chair of bronze, raised a considerable height, is the identical seat which St. Peter and many of his successors used; but it is completely cased in its outer covering, which was made in 1667; and this precious relic can only be seen by mounting an internal staircase. It is reported to be of wood, with ornaments of ivory and gold. It would be the height of temerity to question the genuineness of this chair after what Bonanni has said upon the subject¹. The reader may perhaps

¹ C. xxiii. p. 131.

wish to see the passage, but he must not expect me to incur the penalties of it by attempting to refute it. "This is the chair of St. Peter, which he occupied as universal pastor, till he suffered death for Christ's sake. This fact has been so fully proved, that the few sectaries who deny it must be most barefaced, or a set of children, and silly children too, such as Velcinus, whom Roflensis has refuted, Sebastian of France, and some obscure Englishmen to be found in Saunders." Besides the danger of classing ourselves amongst these our unfortunate countrymen, it would be lost labour to dispute the question, after the arguments which are adduced by Bonanni. In the first place, the miracles that have been wrought by it fully attest its apostolical antiquity. Secondly, Calvin doubted, because it was made of wood, so perishable a material. "But if this were a true ground for doubt," says the honest Bonanni, "the true cross and the cradle of our Saviour are made of wood, as are several statues of the saints, and nobody doubts about them."

The chair is supported by two fathers of the Latin Church, Augustin and Ambrose, and two of the Greek, Chrysostom and Athanasius. St. Augustin was born in 354, at Tagasta in Numidia, and died in 430. St. Ambrose was born in 333 or 340, at Treves, and died in 397. St. Chrysostom was born at Antioch in 347, made patriarch of Constantinople in 397, and died in 407. St. Athanasius was born about 294, in

Egypt; was made patriarch of Alexandria in 326, and after being several times expelled and reinstated, died in 373. These men were worthy of supporting the chair of St. Peter, and deserve much ampler mention than this dry chronicle of their births and deaths. It will be found in some accounts, that all the four supporters are fathers of the Latin Church, and that the two others are St. Jerom, who was born in 340, at Stridon in Dalmatia, and died in 420; and St. Gregory, who was a Roman, and pope from 590 to his death in 604. But the former account is the true one. The steps which lead up to this church are of porphyry, and served for the same purpose in the old church.

Of the monuments, though much deserves to be said, I cannot attempt a detailed description. From the instances being so few where works of this nature command general and unmixed approbation, it would seem, that to design a good monument is among the most difficult branches of the art. Even where a tomb alone is to be executed, without any figures real or allegorical, success is but rarely obtained; and the difficulty must be considerably increased, where figures or groupes of figures are to be represented. The ancients and the moderns seem to have had different ideas upon this subject. From the monuments which remain to us of former times, it would seem not to have been customary in ancient Greece or Rome to consider statues as part of a sepulchral ornament: they were satisfied

with a sarcophagus, or some other tomb, sculptured indeed occasionally with bas-reliefs or busts, but very different from the modern taste, which in all monuments to great characters represents figures as large as life, and sometimes nothing else but figures. Our own St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey will serve to illustrate this remark : and perhaps what has been said above of the few successful specimens, will also be borne out in these two collections.

Perhaps one cause of the dissatisfaction, which so frequently arises in viewing these works, is to be found in the want of any fixed rules and principles of criticism to guide us in contemplating them : and this comes immediately from the fact mentioned above of the ancients having left no models of this kind. In Grecian buildings of modern erection we praise the architect not for the originality of his genius, but for the correctness of his taste ; and according as he has adhered to or departed from the strict rules prescribed to him from antiquity, is the degree of praise which we bestow upon him. In painting we have no ancient standards left by which we can judge ; but who will deny, that in forming our opinion of a modern picture we go back as far as we can, and we always compare it with the productions of the early masters ? Even in poetry, a wildness of imagination (which is only originality under different forms) is censured as a fault ; and all branches of composition, whether epic, dramatic, or pastoral, are submitted to pre-

scribed laws and canons before judgment is passed. Let it not be supposed, that I presume to condemn what I allow is practised by all. It is perhaps inherent in our nature to look up to authority in forming an opinion: those who have no taste of their own, either natural or acquired, must adopt the sentiments of others, unless they submit to being either silent upon such subjects, or to expose themselves to constant ridicule: and even those who are said to have the finest taste, must have imbibed such notions before they were capable of judging for themselves: so that insensibly, and without being conscious of it, they are speaking what they have learnt from their predecessors, while they fancy that they are uttering their own sentiments. In fact, taste may be defined an habitual and extemporaneous agreement with the majority of mankind upon subjects which were at first arbitrary.

For sepulchral monuments no rules seem to have been laid down, nor are any particular models appealed to. In inscriptions there are certain turns of expression which are considered classical; and in these it is generally reckoned better to follow precedent, than to adopt new phrases: which again confirms the observation made above, that, whenever we can, we form our judgments upon the most ancient authority which remains to us. But in the fashion of our monuments we have adopted designs which the ancients seem not to have countenanced; and as yet we are by no means agreed amongst

ourselves, as to what is to be held classical in this way.

If these remarks contain any truth, they will perhaps account for the different opinions which are expressed as to the monuments in St. Peter's. The finest are those erected to the popes. The deceased pontiff is generally represented as large as life; and the attitude of benediction, which is commonly assigned to them, as well as their official robes, are by no means the best suited for sculptural effect. The statue of Clement X. by Ercole Ferrata, is an instance of this. He is sitting, and the whole attitude is extremely formal. The same may be said of Innocent VIII. in bronze, by Ant. Pollajolo. That of Gregory XIII. is much better, which was executed in plaister by Prospero of Brescia. Leo XI. by Algardi is also sitting, and extremely like Clement X. but his eyes not being turned in an unmeaning way upon the spectator, or rather upon nothing, the effect produced is not so formal; which shews how very little is sufficient to give a character to a picture or a statue; for the two figures are in every way similar, and the drapery equally inelegant. The figure of Alexander VII. is kneeling, which might be thought a becoming posture for a Christian monument: but sculpture has more to do with grandeur and animation, than with piety and humility. These virtues are delightful when practised, but there is nothing pleasing or edifying in immoveable and inanimate devotion. Besides which, the mass of

drapery is far too heavy, and we want to see the sculptor's skill displayed in something more than the mere face and hands.

Figures of allegorical design are often introduced. In the monument to the right of St. Peter's chair, two figures will be observed at the foot of the pope, Paul III. which represent Prudence and Justice. The figure of Justice has her drapery partly composed of bronze, which accords extremely ill with the marble. The reason of this incongruity arose from the delicate scruples of one of the popes, who, being shocked at the naked figure which Giacomo della Porta had placed upon the tomb under the direction of Michael Angelo, ordered it to be covered in the way which we now see by Bernini.

The monument corresponding to this on the other side of St. Peter's chair is to Urban VIII. also by Bernini. The statue of the pope is in bronze, and, like the others, not pleasing. Of the allegorical figures below, Charity on the right is beautifully designed and executed. I should almost prefer it to those on the tomb of Paul III. which are so much admired. There is too much formality and study in these being placed back to back, and turning round to look at each other. The figure of Charity is perfect nature. She seems wholly intent upon the two children, without appearing to study an attitude for the artist; which is what all painters and sculptors should endeavour to avoid. Death is represented, as inscribing Urban's name in a

book, upon which Cardinal Rapacciolio wrote this epigram :

Bernin si vivo il grande Urbano ha finto,
 E si ne' duri bronzi è l'alma impressa,
 Che per togli la fè, la Morte stessa
 Sta su'l Sepolcro, à dimostrarlo estinto.

Such life, such warmth, Bernini's touch can shed,
 So stamp'd in bronze the very soul appears,
 That o'er the tomb the grisly tyrant rears
 His form, to tell us—that the soul is fled.

Amongst these monuments, which have employed some of the best sculptors in Italy, that to Clement XIII. by Canova challenges a comparison with any. The genius of Death is one of the finest conceptions of the art, and as finely executed. A similar figure may be seen at Vienna in the monument to the Archduchess Christina, in the church of the Augustins, which is also the work of Canova. The corresponding figure, that of Religion, is certainly not so successful, and may be called disproportioned and clumsy. Two lions, however, one sleeping, the other with a ferocious air, are sufficient of themselves to stamp the sculptor's fame: they are amongst the finest specimens of sculpture which Rome can boast.

Before we proceed to describe the dome, something may be said of the subterraneous part, or *Grotte Vaticane*, under the high altar. No woman is allowed to enter this part of the church, except on the second festival of Pente-

cost, and then the same prohibition is extended to men. It has been already observed, that this is part of the original church, and is said to be that which was built over the burial-ground of the Christians, who suffered in the early persecutions. The old pavement is still preserved, eleven feet below that of the present church, and the antiquary will be interested with some paintings, which represent views of the former Basilica. The tombs of the early popes are curious, as are some old bas-reliefs, and some very ancient statues of St. Peter. Upon a stone here are the words of the grant, by which the Countess Matilda bequeathed her possessions to the papal see. It is dated 1102. Adrian IV. the Irish pope, is buried here, and several characters distinguished in history. Amongst other tombs are those of the Stuart family, with inscriptions to James III. Charles III. and Henry IX. (Cardinal of York,) who are all styled kings of Great Britain, *France*, and Ireland. In the church above there is a handsome monument to Maria Clementina, Queen of Charles III. erected at the expence of the cathedral, which cost 4091 pounds. She is also presented with the crown of France among her other titles. Opposite to this a monument has lately been erected to the memory of Cardinal York, which is executed by Canova. The present King of England contributed largely to the expence of it, but it is represented as being no very successful specimen of that great sculptor's talents.

What principally makes St. Peter's the wonder of the world is the cupola. The enormous size of the four supports of it has been already mentioned. They are about 240 feet in circumference, and 178 in height. Each of the four has two niches in front, one above the other. In the lower ones are statues of saints, and some of the most precious relics are preserved in them. S. Veronica has her veil or sudarium: S. Helena has part of the true cross: S. Andrew (whose statue is the best of the four, and is the work of Fiammingo) takes charge of his own head: and the fourth statue is that of S. Longinus, the soldier, who pierced our Saviour's side. Some remarks may be made upon these statues and relics.

It is unfortunate, or at least suspicious, for this sudarium of S. Veronica, that there are no less than six rival ones shewn in different places, viz. Turin, Milan, Cadoin in Perigort, Besancon, Compeign, and Aix-la-Chapelle. That at Cadoin has fourteen bulls to declare it genuine; that at Turin has only four^a: what credentials the other churches may be able to produce, I have not learned. Perhaps however all our suspicions may be removed by an explanation given to me by a person at Rome, that the linen, which S. Veronica applied, consisted of different folds; consequently the impression of the countenance went through all of them, and each successive

^a Misson's Travels.

fold must be as genuine as the other. There is also another way of reconciling these conflicting claims. The authentic accounts make three folds in the original handkerchief; but the cloth, which was wrapped round our Saviour's head in the sepulchre, received the same miraculous impression of his features; and it is said, that this is the treasure preserved at Turin. After all it seems doubtful, whether we are to take Veronica for the name of a woman, or of the sudarium itself. Marianus Scotus, a writer of the eleventh century, is the first who makes any mention of such a person having existed. He tells us, upon the authority of one Methodius, that Tiberius being ill of a leprosy, and having heard much of the miracles of Christ, sent ambassadors into Judea. Accordingly a woman, named Berenice, came to Rome, and cured the Emperor by an application of the sudarium, which was in her possession. She had offered it to our Saviour as he was going to be crucified, and was labouring under the weight of the cross: his features remained impressed upon it; and engravings may be bought in Rome, which are copied from this relic. The fourth of February is sacred to this saint; and however the question may be decided as to her real or fabulous existence, she receives the prayers of her votaries as regularly as her companions in the calendar.

The Volto Santo was placed in 707 by John VII. in an altar erected by him within an oratory of the old Basilica. After being removed suc-

cessively to the church of S. Spirito in Sassia, and to the Rotonda, it was finally deposited in its present situation in 1605. It was formerly kept under six keys, each of which was in the custody of different families: it is now secured by three keys, one of which is kept by the pope. The frame was given by three Venetians in 1350. I saw this precious relic exhibited at Easter; but the height was so great, where the person stood who displayed it, that nothing satisfactory could be seen: it certainly had the figure of a human countenance.

S. Helena, as is well known, was mother of the Emperor Constantine, and, as some have laboured to prove, of English birth. Among the rest Baronius asserts this story, making Helena to be daughter of Coel, a British Prince. But Gibbon contradicts it^x; and apparently with reason. She was canonized for bringing the true cross to Italy from Jerusalem: the history of which event is this. The empress, having a great wish to discover the true cross, made a journey to Jerusalem for that purpose, where there seems to have been a tradition that it had been buried, and the spot was known. Nicephorus Callistus says^y, that she had a special revelation from God as to the place of its concealment. But according to the Roman breviary her success was not so miraculously obtained. Having convened a great number of Jews, and demanded of

^x C. 14. ^y Lib. viii. c. 26.

them the desired information, they refused to impart it; upon which she threatened to put them to death; and they at length confessed, that Judas, one of their number, could disclose the secret. He however was equally obstinate, until he had passed several days without food in a dry cistern, where the empress had placed him to break his silence. Hunger at length prevailed over religious obstinacy, and he led the impatient empress to the spot. Search was immediately made, and three crosses were dug up. Still however they were at a loss to know which was the cross that had borne our Saviour; for though the superscription was found, it was not attached to any of them. The faith of the empress soon hit upon an expedient. A woman, who laboured under some sickness, was made to touch successively each cross; two of them produced no effect, but the third cured her. This was of course the true cross. Part of it was put in a silver chest, and left where it was found: the rest with the nails and superscription was sent to Constantine, who was at Rome. He placed one of the nails in the helmet which he wore in battle, and another in the frontlet of his horse: the other came by some means into the possession of the King of France. The discovery was made on the third of May, 326, and the event is still commemorated by the Romish church on that day*. Fragments of this cross

* Vid. Ruffinus, lib. i. c. 8; lib. x. c. 20. Socrates, lib. i. c. 17. Sozom. lib. ii. c. 1.

have been dispersed all over Christendom, at least several churches pretend to have portions of it. Indeed as it was said miraculously to increase, to meet the demands of the faithful, we need not be surprised at the multiplied specimens of it.

The head of St. Andrew was sent from Greece to Rome in the time of Pius V. His body (whether headless or no I cannot learn) rests under the choir of the cathedral at Amalphi, which was dedicated to him in 1208, by Cardinal Capuano, who brought his remains thither from Constantinople.

The most extraordinary canonization is that of Longinus, the soldier, who pierced our Saviour's side^a. Tradition says, that having been baptized by the apostles, he became a monk, and converted great numbers to Christianity in Capadocia, where at length he suffered martyrdom under Octavius. This happened at Cæsarea. His tongue was cut out and his teeth extracted, notwithstanding which he held a long conference with the Governor; all which is preserved by the Catholic historians. At length his head was cut off. The inhabitants of Mantua tell a very different story. They maintain, that he preached there, and suffered martyrdom in the second year after Christ's death. It certainly seems to be

^a Perhaps that of the good thief would equal it: for he also is in the catalogue of Romish saints.

the orthodox opinion, that his body was found near Mantua in the year 804, and with it a chest containing some of our Saviour's blood. This saint is confounded even by Catholic writers with the Centurion, also christened Longinus, who bore testimony to our Saviour's divinity at the crucifixion. The latter has also been canonized, together with two of his fellow-soldiers, who refused the money, with which the chief-priests bribed the guard at the sepulchre.

The sacred lance, which pierced our Saviour's side, was formerly preserved with this statue, but it is now kept in the general repository for relics over the figure of S. Veronica. In the history of the first crusade under Godfrey de Bouillon, we read, that after the army had taken Antioch in 1098, a Provencal or a Lombard clerk, named Peter Barthelemy, saw St. Andrew in a vision, who carried him through the air to the church of St. Peter, and shewed him the very lance which had pierced the side of Christ. Raymond Count of Tholouse embraced the story: search was made under the direction of Barthelemy, and at length he himself descending into the excavation found the precious relic. The sacred lance was carried before the army in battle, and the effect it had upon the soldiers was really miraculous. Still however many were incredulous; and the unfortunate Barthelemy actually fell a victim to his enthusiasm, being consumed in a fire, to which he voluntarily exposed himself as an or-

deal. This event was probably fatal to the lance^b.

That which is preserved in St. Peter's rests upon very different testimony. It is said, that St. Helena, besides finding the true cross at Jerusalem, discovered also the iron of the lance, which was carried to Constantinople. It was subsequently divided into two parts: the point was kept in the imperial palace, the other division in the church of St. John of the rock. It seems to be uncertain, whether the division was made by Constantine II. who wished to give the point to Charlemagne; or whether Baldwin, while he was king of Constantinople, pawned it to the Venetians; from whom it was recovered by S. Louis, King of France. However in 1492, Bajazet the Second, Sultan of Constantinople, sent the part, which did not contain the point, as a present to Pope Innocent VIII. to induce him not to protect his brother Zizim, who disputed the throne. The Pope sent a solemn embassy to receive it, and for a long time it was preserved in the Vatican. In 1500 it was placed in a magnificent chapel, where was the statue of Longinus. But when this chapel was destroyed by Julius II. it was removed to the care of St. Veronica, where it has remained ever since. Benedict XIV. in one of his works^c, assures us, that while he was canon of this Basilica, he had the exact

^b Vide Mill's History of the Crusades, vol. i. p. 211.

^c De Beatific. et Canoniz. IV. p. 2. c. xxxi. n. 13.

measure of the point sent him from the Chapel Royal at Paris; and that after comparing the two together, they corresponded so exactly, that no manner of doubt could remain as to the identity of the two relics. It should be mentioned, that another lance is preserved in Nuremberg, which makes similar pretensions: but the orthodox give the preference to this in St. Peter's. It would be curious to trace the pedigree of the Nuremberg lance up to that which was found at Antioch, and for which poor Barthelemy was burnt.

These relics are exhibited on Good-Friday and other days. No one is allowed to visit the place where they are kept, unless he has the rank of a canon. And those sovereigns or illustrious persons, who have sought this privilege, have first the honorary dignity of canon conferred upon them.

In each of the upper niches are two twisted columns, apparently of white marble, which are said to have been brought by Titus from the temple at Jerusalem, or, according to some^d, from the temple of Diana at Ephesus. Their antiquity is probably considerable; and Raffael seems to have copied them in his cartoon of the healing of the lame man in front of the temple. The four pillars, which support the Baldacchino, are also taken from them. There were twelve of these twisted pillars in the old church, which

^d Turrigius de Crypt. Vat.

stood in front of the high altar. Two others stand in the chapel of the Holy Sacrament: another is in the chapel of the Crucifix, and the twelfth was broken in the removal. Anastasius, in his Life of Gregory III. mentions, that that Pope, in 740, placed six *volubiles* (or *volutiles*) *columnas* round the altar, and that he had them from the exarch Eutychius. Six others were already there. It seems probable, that the pillars in the present church are those mentioned by Anastasius.

The concave part of the cupola is filled with mosaics, executed in the time of Clement VIII. and on the ceiling of the Lateran is another mosaic of God the Father. Some of the proportions are as follow^c. From the cornice immediately above the pillars to the aperture of the lantern, 170 feet: from thence to the top of the cross 110; which added to the height of the supporters (178) makes the whole distance from the floor of the church to the top of the cross 458 feet. The internal diameter of the cupola is 140 feet, which is two feet less than that of the dome of the Pantheon. But at St. Peter's there is an inner and an outer wall to the cupola, between which is the staircase: so that the diameter of the whole is 195 feet.

^c The dimensions of all the parts of this building may be seen at the foot of the staircase leading up to the cupola. This is probably the most accurate account of all, and as such I have followed it.

The ascent to the top is tolerably easy. It commences by a succession of inclined plains without any steps, up which it is said that a carriage might be driven. From the roof of the church, the cupolas (of which there are six oval and four octangular, besides the great one) give it more the appearance of a town than any thing else, so astonishing is the size. A great crack may be observed in the roof of the nave, which probably took place in the original settling of the building. From hence by different staircases, and at length between the two walls of the cupola, we come to the ball, which is said to contain sixteen persons, and is 24 feet in circumference. From the balustrade outside of the ball, it is not difficult to mount to the bottom of the cross by an iron ladder, which is in part quite perpendicular, and perhaps formidable. The cross is 13 feet high.

Alarm has frequently been felt for the strength and safety of the cupola, and at different times it has been asserted to be about to fall. Between the inner and outer curves several bands of iron may be observed: two of these were affixed when the building was first raised, and the others have been added subsequently. The Marquis Poleni published a work upon the subject, and in the *Lettere Pittoriche* are some original letters of his, dated 1744. He states, that the bands of iron, which were placed in his time, weighed 148407 pounds. The cupola of the Duomo at Florence has cracked even worse than that of

St. Peter's, but no bands of iron have been used. It may be mentioned, that the lead in the cupola is obliged to be considerably repaired, if not renewed, about every ten years, from the corrosive effect of the *Scirocco*, which the Greeks and Latins called *Euronotus*. The heat of the sun is also said to be sometimes so intense, that it almost melts the lead. I have heard it mentioned, as an observation of the late professor Playfair, that this immense building absorbed so much heat during the summer, that it never wholly discharged it throughout the winter: and certainly the warm temperature of this church during the cold weather at Rome is very remarkable.

S. JOHN LATERAN.

This holds the second rank, as a Basilica, and it is here that the popes are crowned. Its name is said to be derived from its being built on the site of the palace of Plautius Lateranus, who was named for consul in 65, but was put to death by Nero, for being privy to the conspiracy of Piso^f. It has also been called Aurea, from the splendor of its decorations, and Constantianiana, from its founder. The buildings to be noticed are the Church itself with the Palace annexed, the Baptistery, and the *Scala Santa*. Of these the Baptistery is the oldest, and is said to

^f Tacitus, An. xv. c. 60.

have been erected by Constantine, when he was baptized by St. Sylvester.

Guicciardini², noticing the tradition of Constantine having given to Pope Sylvester the city of Rome and other towns and districts of Italy, adds, that so far from this being generally believed, it was argued by some, that all the stories about Constantine and Sylvester were untrue, and that they lived at different times. We know for certain (at least there is no reason to doubt the ecclesiastical histories in this particular) that Pope Sylvester reigned from 314 to 335; and it is equally certain, that Constantine gained his victory over Maxentius in 312, and reigned till 337, so that he undoubtedly might have been baptized by Pope Sylvester. The remark of Guicciardini would lead us to carry our scepticism too far: and with respect to Constantine's celebrated donation to the papal see, the argument of the Protestants is surely weakened by denying the two personages to have been contemporary. For if we can shew, that the emperor might have given the temporal sovereignty of Rome to the Pope, and yet, notwithstanding his great zeal for Christianity, he did not so bestow it, this surely makes more against the union of the temporal and spiritual power, than if we labour to prove by dates that they did not live at the same time. With respect to this question, which has excited so much controversy, thus

² Lib. iv.

much is certain, that Constantine and Sylvester were contemporaries : it is also now allowed on all hands, that the pretended deed of donation is spurious. Hincmar Bishop of Rheims is the first to mention it, and he did not write till 850 ; the style is excessively barbarous, and the date is undoubtedly false ; for the year assigned is 315, and the deed makes mention of the baptism of Constantine as having taken place then ; which is certainly not correct. But what is stronger than all, Rome for a long time after remained subject to the Greek emperors, and the popes acknowledged their sovereignty.

The baptism of Constantine was also once a subject of controversy. Baronius positively asserts, that he was baptized by Pope Sylvester, assigns to it the year 324, and refutes all the arguments of those who maintain the contrary. Eusebius however^b, who wrote in the following reign, expressly says, that he was baptized for the first time immediately before his death : and this opinion is now entertained by all Protestant writers, and by some Catholics^c. There was a mosaic in the old church, which represented the circumstance, under which was written,

Rex baptizatur et lepræ sorde lavatur.

We may now proceed to speak of the Baptistery, which is said to have been built by Constantine. It is octangular, and ornamented with

^b Life of Constantine, lib. iv. c. 61. ^c Vide Gibbon, c. 20.

several ancient columns: two of porphyry with the cornice over them are particularly observable at the door, which leads to the Basilica. The interior is certainly curious, and the architecture bespeaks an age, when taste had sadly degenerated: but it has not on the whole that appearance of antiquity, which I had attached to a building of the fourth century. I have since discovered, that Palladio considered it to be modern, and made of the spoils of ancient buildings^k. The font is evidently intended for immersion, and occupies a great proportion of the building. Anastasius^l describes the font as being of porphyry, and covered entirely both within and without with silver, of which the weight was 3008 pounds. In the middle of the font was a column of porphyry. It is only used on the Saturday before Easter, for baptizing Jews or other infidels, who have been converted to Christianity. The custom of having a baptistery distinct from the church is to be found in many Italian towns. They are generally round. At Florence and at Pisa baptisms could only be performed in one public font. At Parma also the Baptistery is detached from the Duomo.

The Basilica, as it now stands, is to be dated from the time of Clement V. as the old church, (said also to have been built by Constantine,) was burnt in 1308. Nicephorus expressly says^m,

^k Vide his work upon architecture, lib. iv. c. 16.
^m Lib. vii. c. 34, 46.

^l Vita

that Constantine built it, and took the spade into his own hands to turn up the soil for a beginning. This is commemorated in the morning prayers for the ninth of November. The foundation was probably about the year 323. Leo III. about 800 had added very much to the old church, and Sergius III. in 903, almost rebuilt it, as it had suffered by an earthquake ten years before. Several of the succeeding popes added to and ornamented the new church, which Clement V. began, and the magnificent portico was added by Sixtus V. In this is a colossal statue of Constantine, found in his baths. This perhaps should not be called a portico, as there is no projection from the building: but I use the term rather in its ancient sense of a colonnade, extending along the whole front, and forming the entrance to the church.

Here, as at St. Peter's, it might be thought desirable, that there had been a projecting portico: but the designs of the two buildings are considerably different; and if we complain of a want of simplicity in St. Peter's, we shall do so much more at the Lateran, where the fondness of the Italian architects for overloading their buildings with ornaments and breaking them into minute parts has been most luxuriantly displayed. Here, as at St. Peter's, some part of the bad effect may be ascribed to the necessity of constructing a balcony for the papal benediction: a recess of this kind in the front of a building is not ornamental, and other similar niches have been added for the sake of uniformity. On the top are fifteen

statues of our Saviour and various saints. From the colonnade there are five entrances into the church; in the middle one is a bronze door, which came from what is called the Temple of Peace in the Forum. That to the right of it is the *Porta Santa*.

The interior is divided into five aisles, and in the pillars of the nave are colossal statues of the twelve Apostles, some of which are fine specimens of sculpture. The high altar contains the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul. At the altar of the sacrament, in the north transept, are two bronze columns, which are asserted to be the same which Augustus had constructed after the battle of Actium, from the beaks of the enemy's ships, and which Virgil is supposed to allude to, when he says,

— navali surgentes ære columnæ. GEORG. iii. 29.

One of the richest chapels in Rome is in this church, that of the Corsini family. The tomb of Clément XII. who reposes here, is formed of a noble antique urn of porphyry, brought from the Pantheonⁿ. I have already had occasion to mention, that in the Tribune there are four pointed arches; and an inscription states, that this part of the church was erected by Nicolas IV. who reigned from 1288 to 1292; so that this must be a portion which escaped the fire in 1308,

ⁿ This is not the only instance of a Pagan sarcophagus being consecrated to the remains of a pope. The tomb of Innocent II. was formerly that of Adrian.

and is the oldest part of the whole. Some mosaics in the concave part of the Tribune are curious from their antiquity, but otherwise extremely rude and ugly.

The adjoining palace was built by Constantine, and for more than a thousand years the popes made it their residence. Sextus V. rebuilt it in its present magnificent form; and in 1693 Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital for the poor.

Very near to the Basilica is the *Scala Santa*. Part of this belonged to the original church, and escaped the fire of 1308. Sextus V. added the portico and five staircases. It is that in the middle which gives the name to the building. It is said to have been sent from Pilate's house in Jerusalem to Helena, and people are allowed to ascend it only on their knees. It is composed of twenty-eight steps of marble; but they were wearing away so fast from the devotion of the faithful, that long ago they were cased with wood. This covering has been twice renewed, and the third already gives great proofs of the effect of constant attrition. Whoever stops a few minutes near this place may have abundant opportunities of seeing this operation performed: people of all ranks and ages may be observed ascending: and as it takes about three minutes to complete the task, it must be extremely disagreeable and fatiguing. They return by one of the lateral staircases, which, not having the same sanctity as the first, may be descended in the ordinary way. I never passed by the place

without seeing some persons climbing on their knees, and generally a considerable number. To a Catholic no doubt there is merit in the act itself; but there is also at the top a very sacred painting of our Saviour to attract his devotion, and to encourage him in the task, besides several relics of peculiar sanctity°. As this picture is considered to have claims to being a correct representation of our Saviour, it may be mentioned, that it is five feet eight inches high. It represents our Saviour at the age of twelve, and was begun to be painted by St. Luke, but he found it miraculously finished for him.

On one of the sides of this building is a curious mosaic, preserved since the time of Leo III. or a little earlier, who commenced his reign in 795. In design, as might be expected, it is extremely rude; but it is valuable from its antiquity, and as proving in some degree, if we may argue from this art to that of painting, that in the ninth century the latter art must have been in some state of progress towards the perfection which it afterwards attained. We are not wholly without materials for tracing the history of painting through the darkest ages, and its existence seems never wholly to have ceased. Anastasius tells us, that Pope Symmachus ornamented St.

° Of the relics preserved in the church, the most remarkable are, part of the cradle, of the vest without seam, of the barley-loaves and fishes, the table of the last supper, part of the purple robe, and of the reed with which Christ was smitten.

Peter's with mosaics, and St. Paul's with paintings: he reigned from 498 to 514. We have mention of a painting of the Transfiguration, executed at Naples in the time of Justinian, (527-65.) So that under the Goths the art was not wholly extinct; and under their successors, the Lombards, we have still some traces of it. The same Anastasius mentions several churches being ornamented with mosaic work in the seventh and eighth centuries. He also supplies us with more direct evidence as to painting: for, according to him, John VII. (705) had several pictures executed in the churches of Rome: Gregory III. (731) ornamented many churches in this manner; and he makes particular mention of a painting in the Lateran in the time of Pope Zacharias (741) and Paul I. (757). Adrian I. (768) also employed painters, and he was the immediate predecessor of Leo III. in whose time the mosaic at the *Scala Santa* was executed. The portraits of the popes in St. Paul's are some of the oldest specimens of painting now existing in or near Rome: but on a large scale there is nothing so ancient as some frescos on the wall of a chapel, which stands on the left of the Appian Way. It is called by some a temple of Bacchus, and was dedicated by Urban VIII. to St. Urban I. Lanzi thinks them as old as 1011. There is a considerable degree of spirit in the designs.

This mosaic has also been cited with a very different view by the authors of *L'Art de verifier*

les Dates^p, and Muratori^q. It represents our Saviour giving the keys to St. Peter with one hand, and with the other a standard to a crowned prince, bearing the inscription, Constantine V.: from which it has been argued, that the authority of the Greek emperors over Rome had not entirely ceased at that time. Constantine V. began his reign in 780.

The Egyptian obelisk, which stands in front of this Basilica, and is the highest in Rome, has been already mentioned.

S. MARIA MAGGIORE

is so called, because it was the largest church dedicated to the Virgin. It ranks third among the Basilicæ. It is also known by the name of S. Maria *ad Nives*, from a vision which Pope Liberius and John Patricius had of a miraculous fall of snow, which extended as far as the limits of the present church. This story is represented in one of the chapels.

Those who express disappointment at the front of St. Peter's, and object to the architecture of St. John Lateran, will probably be equally dissatisfied with S. Maria Maggiore. Without entering into a detail of the building, or repeating what perhaps has already been considered impertinent in an account of Roman edifices, I cannot help observing, that the whole effect pro-

^p Tom. i. p. 262.

^q Annali d'Italia, an. 798.

duced by this church is by no means proportionate to the grandeur of its size and the labour of the execution. A building of these dimensions in stone must always command some degree of admiration: but the great difference between the simple architecture of ancient Greece, and the overloaded alterations introduced by modern Italy, is this, that the former does not always forcibly strike the eye at the first view, and sometimes even conveys an idea of heaviness; but every succeeding examination discloses new beauties; the eye is never weary with contemplating it, and a perfect recollection of its parts remains upon the memory. The case is very different with such buildings as S. Maria Maggiore: at the first approach a great idea of grandeur is raised by such a prodigious edifice: the multitude of parts into which it is divided, and the variety of ornaments, furnish the eye with such a rapid succession of objects for a few minutes, that there is no room for any feeling but that of admiration: but this very abundance of ornaments soon destroys the effect, which it had itself raised: for impressions to be lasting, there must be an unity and a distinctness in them; whatever distracts the attention, prevents the mind from enjoying pleasure; and whenever we have no definite idea of an object which we have seen, it is impossible that we can be anxious to repeat the contemplation of it. Few persons, who have made a single visit to Pæstum, would be unable to give a rough sketch of the temples: after residing some

months in Rome, who could draw from memory the front of S. Maria Maggiore?

It was this which made me dissatisfied with this Basilica whenever I passed it, and deters me at present from attempting a description of its architecture. Whether the above remarks may be allowed to be just or no, a narrow brick tower, which rises above the whole, must by all be considered extremely ugly. I should imagine it to be a remnant of the former edifice; but as the whole has been built at various times, it is difficult to assign a date to any particular part. The church is said to be as old as 366, the pontificate of Liberius, having been founded by Joannes Patricius: but it has been restored and ornamented by several succeeding popes. Sextus III. rebuilt it in 432, and the form of the interior has probably continued the same ever since that time. Eugenius III. added the portico in front, A. D. 1150; and Gregory XIII. repaired it in 1575. Sextus V. and Paul V. contributed much towards the ornaments of the exterior.

The interior has three aisles, and along the middle one are 36 Ionic pillars of white marble, which have a beautiful effect. They are undoubtedly ancient, and perhaps came from the temple of Juno Lucina, which stood here. There is a good opportunity at Rome of viewing the three different orders of architecture in ancient columns appropriated to modern churches. In the one, which we are now describing, we have the Ionic; at St. Paul's there is a double

row of Corinthian pillars, unrivalled in beauty and proportion^r; and at S. Pietro in Vinculis, though the pillars of the nave are not in so perfect a state as in the two former, we are enabled to admire the simplicity of the Doric. At S. Maria Maggiore the roof will probably be considered as too low, and the effect produced by this double row of Ionic columns is diminished from this cause. The roof itself deserves to be mentioned, as being gilt in 1500 with the first gold which came from Peru, and which was a present from Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain to the Pope. The mosaics which are over the pillars of the nave, and in the tribune, are as old as 434. Among the chapels, that of the Borghese family deserves to be examined for the richness of its decorations.

Over the altar of the Virgin is one of those numerous pictures, which are said to have been the work of St. Luke; and on the wall near to it may be read a pope's bull, declaring it to be the work of St. Luke *the Evangelist*. Notwithstanding this high authority, and the notion prevalent in Italy of St. Luke having been a painter, as well as a physician, it is not now considered a matter of faith. It is allowed by all, who are competent to judge, that the mistake arose from confounding a painter of the twelfth century with the Evangelist. Lanzi himself, an ecclesiastic of

^r Another series of Corinthian columns may be seen in the church of Ara Cœli, but very inferior in elegance to those of St. Paul's.

high rank, who has so ably written the history of painting, asserts this as undeniable, and ridicules the absurdity of those, who are credulous enough to hold the other opinion. Lanzi had perhaps never seen the pope's bull in Santa Maria Maggiore. In the church of SS. Domenico and Sisto is another picture of the Virgin, also declared by papal authority to be the work of Luke the Evangelist. The popes are perhaps not infallible as connoisseurs. Montfaucon says¹, that there are seven paintings with these pretensions in Rome. Dupin and Tillemont, the French ecclesiastical historians, totally reject the notion: but Cave seems inclined to attach some credit to an inscription dug up near the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, where were the words . . . una e VII. a B. Luca depictis. The first writer, who at all alludes to St. Luke's professional talent, is Nicephorus Callisti², who wrote in the fourteenth century; which alone is enough to invalidate the notion, if we could otherwise have been so credulous as to entertain it. The academy of painting at Rome is called that of St. Luke, and was founded in 1478.

In front of this church is one of the handsomest Corinthian pillars any where to be seen. It came from the Temple of Peace in the Forum, and was placed here by Paul V. in 1513. It is 47 feet high without the pedestal and capital. Not far from this is another little pillar of very mean

¹ Dion. Ital. p. 106.

² Lib. ii. c. 43.

architecture, surmounted by a cross, erected in memory of the absolution given by Clement VIII. to Henry IV. of France in 1595, upon his conversion to the Romish religion. Henry IV. himself had the pillar erected, with this inscription on the principal part of it, *In hoc signo vinces*. This passed at first for very Catholic, until it was observed, that the part, on which the inscription was placed, is shaped in the form of a cannon; and that he had really attributed to his artillery what they had taken to be addressed to heaven⁹.

S. CROCE IN GIERUSALEMME,

though not the next Basilica in point of size, yet comes next in order, as being within the walls. A church was erected here by Constantine, and in his time this part of Rome was undoubtedly much more inhabited than it is at present. S. Croce now stands quite alone, with no buildings near it. That the case was different formerly is evident from the ruins close to it, one of which has been called the Sessorium, and the church from this cause is styled Basilica Sessoriana. It had its present name from a third part of the true cross being deposited here by Helena. There were also placed here two of the thorns, one of the thirty pieces of silver, the superscription, and part of the cross of the good thief. In the year

⁹ Spence's Anecdotes, p. 90.

1492 a little chest was found in one of the walls, which contained the inscription: it was in red letters, and much decayed, HIESVS NAZARENVS REX IYDAEOR. The church was also called *in Gierusalemme*, because some soil was brought from the holy-land at the same time, part of which was placed underneath the church, and part over the roof.

It was repaired by Gregory II. who reigned 715-31, when it is stated to have been without a roof, and in a great state of dilapidation. It was rebuilt by Lucius II. in 1144, and the facade was added by Benedict XIV. It is small, and in no respect deserving of much attention; nor should I have mentioned it at all, if it did not bear the rank of a Basilica. It was in this church that the Pope used to consecrate the golden rose, which he sent annually to some sovereign or other great person. Some other relics preserved here are curious; such as, the finger, which Thomas put into our Saviour's side; part of the sponge, on which the vinegar was put; part of the vest without seam; part of the veil and hair of the Virgin Mary; some earth from Mount Calvary, stained by Christ's blood; part of the stone, on which the angel stood when he saluted Mary; some of the manna; part of Aaron's rod, which budded; a tooth of St. Peter; part of the stone, where Christ was born; and some bones of Thomas a Becket.

S. PAUL'S.

The three remaining Basilicæ are without the walls. That of St. Paul is much the finest, and would be among the handsomest of the Roman churches, if it were in better condition. Before the Reformation the King of England was protector of it, as the Emperor is of St. Peter's, the King of France of St. John Lateran, and the King of Spain of S. Maria Maggiore. It is about $1\frac{1}{2}$ mile out of the Porta S. Paolo, and it is perhaps owing to its situation that it has been so much neglected. There was formerly a portico from the gate to the church, which is now entirely removed. Procopius mentions this portico and other buildings contiguous to the church, and says it was distant 13 stadia from Rome. But the interior and exterior present a sad appearance of inattention, and in the midst of our admiration for such a magnificent structure, we are disgusted with the damp and dirt which disfigure it.

The first thing which struck me in approaching it was a series of Gothic windows in the side facing the city; the only instance of the kind which I had seen about Rome. These have already been mentioned, when it was stated, that they were an addition of the tenth century. I find mention of two periods, when the church underwent considerable repair. Leo III. who

reigned from 795 to 816, restored the roof, which had been thrown down by an earthquake, and built the arch near the tribune. In 1138 Innocent II. surrounded it with strong walls, as the former ones were in a ruinous condition. In the interior there is no appearance of these windows, as they are completely blocked up, and those which give light to the church are square, in the spaces between the pointed ones. The two exterior aisles are lower than the rest of the church, and evidently of a later date.

The Basilica itself is in point of antiquity one of the most curious in the neighbourhood of Rome. It was begun by Theodosius in 386, and finished by Honorius in 395: but there was a Basilica here before, built by Constantine. Baronius^r quotes an original letter, as still existing, which Valentinianus, Theodosius, and Arcadius wrote to Sallustius, prefect of the city, exhorting him to enlarge the church of St. Paul, which had been built by Constantine, but was confined in its dimensions by the road and the river. Some verses of Prudentius deserve to be inserted upon this subject.

Parte alia titulum Pauli via servat Ostiensis,

Qua stringit amnis cespitem sinistrum.

*Regia pompa loci est. Princeps bonus has sacra vit arces,
Clausitque magnis ambitum talentis.*

^r At the year 386.

Bracteolas trabibus sublevit, ut omnis aurulenta
 Lux esset intus, ceu jubar sub ortu.
 Subdidit et Parias fulvis laquearibus columnas,
 Distinguit illic quas quaternus ordo.
 Tunc camurus hyalo insigni varie cucurrit arcus :
 Sic prata vernis floribus renident.

Περί Στεφ. 12, 45.

The last couplet alludes to a mosaic over the arch of the nave, which is still to be seen. We can have no doubt, that this is the ancient edifice, or at least great part of it, from the circumstance of the pillars in the nave, which I shall shortly mention. The portico was erected by Benedict XIII. and the bronze gate in the middle was cast in 1070, at Constantinople. This front is not made use of at present as an entrance, and can with difficulty be seen. There are some curious mosaics over it.

The view of the interior would be magnificent beyond description, if it had not been so shamefully neglected. No church in Rome, except St. Peter's, exceeds it in dimensions, this being 260 feet long without the tribune, and 136 wide: and even St. Peter's can produce nothing equal to the forty Corinthian pillars on each side of the nave. These are all the work of ancient Rome, though the antiquaries are not agreed as to the building from whence they came. Some have said, that it was the tomb of Adrian; but this is certainly not true. Others suppose it to have been the Basilica Æmilia in the Forum. The

pillars are not all of the same marble, and consequently not of equal beauty ; but their heights accord, being 52 palms, and as age has made a great impression upon the colour of all of them, the difference is not apparent on a general view. Twenty-four of them are of the marble, called, from its variegated colour, Pavonazzo ; the rest are of Parian marble. Perhaps the marble called Pavonazzo is what Pliny^{*} calls *Alabandicus*, from Alabanda in Caria, where it was found, as well as at Miletus. He calls it black, or rather approaching to purple. He adds, that it could be liquified by fire, and run into glass. I should not hesitate to pronounce these the finest assemblage of columns which Italy can boast. The interior is divided into five aisles, which contain in all eighty pillars, and the whole number, which the church contains, is said to be 138, most of which are ancient.

The pavement contains several fragments of ancient inscriptions ; but it has evidently been taken up at some time or other, and put down in an irregular manner, without regard to the former position of the stones. This must have been since the time of Sextus V. for the architects employed by him to build St. Peter's, Giacomo della Porta and Fontana, made use of the floor of this church to draw their designs for the cupola, there being no other place so convenient

^{*} Lib. xxxv. c. 13.

for tracing so vast a work. The antiquaries of the present day say, that it was Michael Angelo who made this use of the floor, in order to give the people of Rome an idea of his plan; but as it is Fontana himself who gives the accounts which have been stated above^t, there can be little doubt that the dates and persons have been confounded. Several curved lines are still to be seen upon the stones, but so broken, and interrupted by a subsequent alteration in their position, that little or nothing can be traced of the general design. Over the arch of the nave is a mosaic as old as 440.

Upon the top of the pillars are portraits of the popes from St. Peter to Pius VII. Though we may not agree with the Catholics as to the authenticity of the earliest of this series, yet as being nearly the oldest paintings extant, (I mean with reference to the middle ages, and as preserving likenesses of most if not all the popes since the fifth century, they certainly may be considered valuable. Leo I. who began his reign in 461, commenced the series, and had all his predecessors up to his own time painted. These I am afraid we must allow to have been works of imagination; but it is reasonable to suppose, that after his time they would be continued by each pontiff; though as it is stated, that S. Symmachus in 514, and Benedict XIV. in 1740, conti-

^t Lib. v. c. 16.

nued the work, there may perhaps have been occasional interruptions. Perhaps they only restored the paintings, which had suffered from time. Many of them are now in a wretched condition, and almost entirely defaced. It is singular, that with the predecessor of the present pope the series had in a manner terminated, as it had gone all round the church, and the place appointed for Pius VI. was immediately next to that of St. Peter. It was a saying at Rome, in consequence of this circumstance, that they were to have no more popes: a prediction which seemed at one time very likely to be accomplished. Pius VII. has however recovered the pontifical throne, and having placed his own portrait under that of St. Peter, he has commenced a new series, which may be continued to the same length as the former.

It is perhaps not generally known, that the Roman Catholics possess in anticipation a list of all the popes who are to reign till the end of the world. A countryman of our own has the merit of having drawn up this prophetic catalogue. St. Malachy was born at Armagh in 1094, and became archbishop of that see in 1127: he resigned his honours in 1135, and, after working many miracles, he died in 1148 at Clairvaux in France. It may be remarked, that he was the first saint regularly canonized by the Romish Church. Among other proofs of his supernatural powers, he left a list of all the popes from

Celestin II. 1143, to the end of time. The fact is now pretty well ascertained, that this was an invention of the cardinals assembled in conclave to elect a pope upon the death of Urban VII. in 1590. The partisans of Cardinal Simoncelli, afterwards Gregory XIV. brought forward this list as a prophecy of St. Malachy; and the words which were considered indicative of his election were, “*de Antiquitate Urbis*,” as the Cardinal was a native of Orvieto, the Latin name of which was *Urbs Vetus*. No mention is made of the existence of such a prophecy till 1600, when it was published by Arnold de Wyon, a Benedictine of Douay: and if we look to each prediction and its completion before the time of Gregory XIV. we shall see very clearly, that the framers of it went upon good historical grounds; but after his time the application of the prophecies is extremely forced. To make this clear, I will give the three popes who succeeded each other immediately after the death of St. Malachy, and then the three who followed Gregory XIV.

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|-------------------------------------|---------------|---|
| 1143. <i>Ex castris Tiberis.</i> | Celestin II. | Born at a castle
on the Tiber. |
| 1144. <i>Inimicus expulsus.</i> | Lucius II. | Of the family of
Caccianemici
in Bologna. |
| 1145. <i>Ex magnitudine montis.</i> | Eugenius III. | Of Grandimont
near Pisa. |

In these cases the agreement is very evident:

but in the three cases which immediately follow Gregory XIV. there is a striking difference.

- | | | | |
|-------|-----------------------|---------------|---|
| 1591. | Pia Civitas in Bello. | Innocent IX. | A native of Bologna. |
| 1592. | Crux Romulea. | Clement VIII. | Of the Aldobrandini family, said to be descended from the first Roman Christian : they bear a crossed branch in their arms. |
| 1605. | Undosus Vir. | Leo XI. | He was tossed, as a wave, only reigning 26 days. |

The last pope, Pius VI. had the symbol *Peregrinus Apostolicus*, which of course was accomplished by his journey to Vienna. His Holiness now reigning is designated by *Aquila rapax*; and though his own character would deserve a much more amiable description, yet the rapacity of the French Eagle has certainly made his history singular among that of all the successors of St. Peter; and it is well if the rapacity of the double eagle of Austria does not make it more so. It is interesting to know, that our countryman did not anticipate more than fourteen popes

from the present time, who are predicted under the following emblems.

- | | |
|-------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Canis et Coluber. | 8. Fides intrepida. |
| 2. Vir Religiosus. | 9. Pastor Angelicus. |
| 3. De Balneis Hetruriæ. | 10. Pastor et Nauta. |
| 4. Crux de Cruce. | 11. Flos Florum. |
| 5. Lumen in cœlo. | 12. De medietate Lunæ. |
| 6. Ignis Ardens. | 13. De Labore Solis. |
| 7. Religio depopulata. | 14. De Gloria Olivæ. |

The concluding words of the prophecy are these:

“ In the last persecution of the holy Roman
 “ Church, Peter of Rome shall be on the throne,
 “ who shall feed his flock in many tribulations.
 “ When these are past, the city upon seven hills
 “ shall be destroyed, and the awful Judge shall
 “ judge the people.”

Under the high altar is preserved the body of St. Paul, which Constantine inclosed in a case of brass, as he had done that of St. Peter. It may be observed, that the ornaments of this altar are in the Gothic style.

A convent is annexed to the church; and though the cloisters present a sad spectacle of dirt and neglect, they deserve to be examined for their architecture, and several curious inscriptions preserved upon the walls. I shall only copy one of them, without pretending to decide as to its genuineness; but by the account of its

* A treatise has been written upon this prophetical catalogue by Menestrier.

discovery, which is annexed, it would seem that some had believed it to be authentic; and it illustrates a passage in Suetonius, which I shall also produce. The inscription is this :

Hoc specus exceptit post aurea tecta Neronem,
Nam vivum inferius se sepelire timet :

and under it is written, " Invent. prope Anienem, " inter Vias Salariam et Nomentanam." Suetonius tells us^x, that when the emperor was forced to fly from his palace, Phaon, one of his freedmen, invited him to his garden, and advised him to hide himself in a cave, from which sand had been dug : but Nero replied, that he would not be buried alive. A place which answers this description has gone by the name of Cisterna Neronis, and is mentioned particularly by Rodericus *de Gestis Frederici II.*

S. LORENZO.

About a mile beyond the gate of S. Lorenzo, on the road to Tivoli, is the Basilica which bears this name. Constantine, to whom so many churches are ascribed in Rome, is said also to have erected this in 330. It has also been restored by several popes, and finally in 1647 ; so that it is difficult to say how much of the original edifice remains. Great part of it is however undoubtedly ancient ; and if it be true that there

^x Nero, c. xlviii.

was a temple of Neptune here, I should be inclined to ascribe these remains to a period much older than that of Constantine, and to suppose, that instead of building a new church, he consecrated a Pagan temple.

The portico consists of six antique Ionic pillars, four of which are twisted. These bespeak a taste much inferior to that of the pillars in the body of the church. The tribune is raised above the rest; and it is this part which I should think the oldest: it contains twelve pillars different from all the others, and for a considerable height above their bases they are buried in the ground. One of them has been dug round to shew the height of the column. There are in all twenty-two pillars, dividing the church into three aisles. Many of these pillars certainly came from other buildings, because their capitals are different. Winkelmann¹ thinks that he can trace one of them to the Portico of Octavia, and his observation is certainly ingenious. It is built upon a passage in Pliny², where he tells us, that Saurus and Batrachus, two architects of Sparta, built the Portico of Metellus, afterwards that of Octavia, and not venturing to put their names upon it, they carved a lizard and a frog in the volutes of the columns. Winkelmann has observed these very emblems in the volutes of one of these Ionic columns; which seems very nearly to demonstrate his conjecture, or at least to prove them to have

¹ Vol. ii. p. 589.

² Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

been carved by the artists mentioned by Pliny. On the capitals of two other pillars may be observed victories at each corner, with trophies between them, which were ornaments of late introduction.

In the nave are two marble pulpits, or *ambones*, which are only to be seen in the oldest churches of Rome. These ambones are placed on each side of the nave, and from that on the south side the Epistle was read, from the other the Gospel. Anciently the custom seems to have been for there only to be one ambo, in which were two steps: from the higher one the Gospel was read; from the lower one the Epistle^a. Besides the *ambones* in this church, two are to be seen in St. Clement's, St. Pancrazio, and S. Maria in Cosmedin. In Italy the different sides of the church are frequently expressed by this distinction; and instead of speaking of the north or south side, they say the Epistle or the Gospel side. Indeed the other mode of distinguishing them could not always be used at Rome, from the circumstance already mentioned of the churches not always standing east and west.

Some paintings may be seen in this church as old as the thirteenth century. Under the high altar are preserved the bodies of St. Stephen and St. Laurence. There are also other relics, such as part of our Saviour's tomb; part of the clothes and of the tomb of the Virgin Mary; and one

^a Vid. Ducange, who derives the word from *ἀναβάνω*.

of the stones with which St. Stephen was stoned.

The history of St. Laurence is as well attested as that of any of the martyrs, and perhaps we may be more inclined to believe it, because little or nothing is related of his actions before the time of his suffering. St. Ambrose, St. Augustin, St. Isidore, Prudentius, &c. speak of him. He was a native of Osca in Arragon, and went young to Rome. Sextus II. made him an archdeacon; and when that pope was being led to his martyrdom, he enjoined Laurence to distribute his possessions to the Christians. Being ordered to produce these treasures, he refused; and after being suspended from the ground, and having plates of hot iron applied to him, he was placed upon a gridiron over a slow fire, which broiled him to death. This happened on the 10th of August, 256. The histories add, that he was buried in some ground belonging to Cyriaca, a widow, who lived on the road to Tibur.

S. SEBASTIAN.

The Basilica of S. Sebastian, about two miles out of the gate of that name, is remarkable for nothing but its antiquity and the Catacombs. The father of S. Sebastian is said to have been a native of Narbon, and his mother of Milan. He was tribune of the guard under Diocletian, and converted many to Christianity. That emperor however sentenced him to be shot with arrows,

as is represented in so many pictures. He recovered from these wounds, but venturing afterwards to reprove the emperor for his crimes, he was beaten to death.

The present church is not older than 1611. Over the three doors are paintings by A. Caracci. The Catacombs or Cemetery of S. Calixtus are under this church, and extend a considerable way. My guide was positive, that they reach as far as Ostia, a distance of 16 miles. This and many other stories told of these Catacombs throw an air of suspicion over their history, and make us inclined to disbelieve the traditions concerning them. When it is asserted that 14 popes and 170000 Christian martyrs were buried here, we may reasonably ask, how were the numbers ascertained with such accuracy. But this should not make us doubt the story altogether, of the Christians having first retired into these caves as a place of refuge, and having subsequently used them as cemeteries. The origin of the Catacombs here and at Naples was most probably the same with those at Paris, which were undoubtedly excavations for the purpose of procuring stone. The material here is much softer than the freestone of Paris, and supplied the ancient Romans with the earth called *Puzzolana*. This, which is so abundantly diffused over the neighbourhood of Rome, is generally said to be of Volcanic origin, and is used very largely for making cement. It was known to the ancients, and was called *Pulvis Puteolanus*, from the cir-

cumstance of its being found in great quantities near Puteoli (Pozzuoli). Vitruvius mentions it^b, and it seems to be his opinion, as it is that of the moderns, that the same cause which produces volcanos, is instrumental in forming this earth^c. There are two kinds of it, black and red : only the black is found near Naples, but both sorts exist in the neighbourhood of Rome ; and in no other parts of Italy are they found. Some beds of it have been explored 80 palms deep, and new discoveries are constantly being made of ancient excavations. The *Puzzolana* makes the best cement known, and it has the property of hardening under water. In fact it becomes as hard as the stone itself, if not harder.

There seems sufficient evidence to induce us to believe, that these subterraneous excavations were used by the Christians to hide themselves in from their persecutors. Eusebius^d, speaking of the persecutions in Egypt, represents the governor Æmilianus as saying, that they should not be allowed to hold meetings, nor to enter the places they called Cemeteries. He mentions also^e the same prohibition as being ordered by Maximinus. The Cemetery, of which we are

^b Lib. ii. c. 6.

^c We may quote Vitruvius, as preserving the tradition of Vesuvius having exploded in remote times ; because some have asserted, that the great eruption in the time of Titus was the first. Strabo also, lib. v. alludes to former eruptions.

^d Lib. vii. c. 11.

^e Lib. ix. c. 2.

now speaking, goes by the name of that of Calixtus, it being constructed by that pope, as we learn from his biographer Anastasius. The same historian relates, that St. Fabian ordered many buildings to be constructed in the Cemetries; and we know from St. Cyprian^f, that Sextus and Quartus suffered martyrdom in them. The Christians appear never to have adopted the Roman custom of burning the dead: Macrobius indeed tells us^g, that in his time, i. e. at the end of the fourth century, the custom of burning the dead was entirely left off; and as burial within the walls was prohibited, they naturally had recourse to those places, which had served as a retreat and refuge for the living. For we have evidence, that the bodies of Christians were sometimes disturbed and disinterred by their heathen enemies. This custom conferred an additional sanctity upon the Catacombs; and the religious veneration paid to relics is to be traced to this necessity of the living and the dead being brought so closely into contact.

Jerom, in his commentary upon Ezekiel^h, tells us, that while he was pursuing his studies at Rome, he was accustomed to go on Sundays with others of the same age and pursuits to visit the sepulchres of the apostles and martyrs. They frequently entered the Crypts, which were dug deep in the earth, and had on each side the bodies of the dead laid in the walls, and there

^f Epist. 80.^g Saturn. lib. vii. c. 7.^h C. 40.

was seldom any light admitted from above to mitigate the gloomy horror of the place. When Christianity became the established religion, the bodies of the martyrs came to be removed into more dignified places, and hence arose the custom of burying within the walls of churches¹. Baronius mentions² the Cemetery of Priscilla being discovered in his time near the Via Latina; and his description may be applied to all the rest. He says, "it was quite a subterraneous city: at the entrance was a principal street wider than the rest, and on each side were several other streets, which again branched off into lanes and allies. There were *fora*, as in cities, and more open spaces for religious meetings, which were ornamented with pictures of saints and apertures for light." Perhaps we may also deduce from these Cemeteries the custom of having Crypts, or subterraneous churches, under the others. In these places near Rome, and wherever the early martyrs had suffered, it was very natural that places of worship should afterwards be erected over them; and other countries perhaps adopted the same form, and ascribed a peculiar sanctity to the lower church, in which their own dead were deposited.

That these Catacombs were used as burial-places, we may prove by the evidence of our own

¹ A description of these Cemeteries may be seen in Prudentius' Hymn. xi. 153.

² Ad An. 130.

eyes. The earth has been cut into a variety of tombs, and several bones have been found. There is also great proof, that service was performed here by those unhappy men, who were prohibited the open profession of their religion in the face of day. This is more observable in the Catacombs at Naples, where even some paintings may be traced, which ornamented the chapels. I do not wish to enquire into what particular means the Catholics possess of ascertaining the name of any saint discovered here, nor whether Sebastian was or was not among the sufferers: but surely we may pardon a little superstition in others, and indulge a little veneration ourselves for that spot, which preserved the early professors of our religion, and perhaps our religion itself, from destruction; and in treading the ground which was stained by their blood, and which preserves their remains even to our own days, we may surely cherish their memory without a crime; and while we grieve for those, who would pay them religious adoration, we may perhaps feel a little compunction at the coldness of our own faith, and animate our devotion by their example.

In the church is shewn the measure of our Saviour's two feet upon a stone, the history of which is connected with the little church called *Domine, quo vadis?* between this Basilica and the city. It is said, that St. Peter, being on his way from Rome, met our Saviour at that spot, and addressed him in these words, *Domine, quo*

vadis? Lord, whither art thou going? From which circumstance a church was built with that name; and the outline of our Saviour's feet, as he stood there, being taken, has been preserved ever since in this Basilica.

With respect to the other churches, which rank after the seven Basilicæ, it is by no means my intention to write an itinerary of Rome, nor to notice every object which would interest a stranger. I wish only to detail those points which are more peculiarly worthy of his observation, and particularly where any thing in their history is curious and entertaining. Many churches command admiration from the splendor of their decorations, but I shall not take up the reader's time in describing these; nor must a catalogue of the paintings and statues, which are to be found in them, be expected from me. Some of the works of art I shall occasionally notice, but not merely to expatiate upon their beauties. Having premised these remarks, I shall proceed to select some of the churches, which may be considered interesting from their antiquity, or the objects contained in them.

It is perhaps impossible to say, which is the oldest church in Rome. That the Christians had places of worship very early within the city, seems clearly proved; and a century before the time of Constantine, Calixtus I. is said by his biographer Anastasius to have built a Basilica to the Virgin, during the reign of Severus. These places of worship would of course be more

or less public, according as the emperors were inclined to persecution or toleration: but Nicephorus plainly indicates¹, that large churches were erected in great number; and from another passage^m, where he says, that Constantine, after he defeated Maxentius, hastened to restore the churches of God, and to enrich them with presents, it is evident that such buildings had existed previous to the emperor's conversion to Christianity. The same also appears from the letter of Constantine to Eusebius, exhorting him to further the enlarging or rebuilding of existing churchesⁿ. S. Felix is said to have erected a Basilica in the Via Aurelia, and he died A. D. 274, in the time of Aurelian. Many pious people also consecrated their houses to religious purposes.

If in describing the churches of Rome, we should proceed in the order of their age, those should be mentioned first, which are actually ancient buildings converted into churches. Of these St. Theodore would claim our first attention, if we believe the story, that it is the temple erected by Tatius to Romulus. This church stands at the southern extremity of the Forum, under the Palatine Hill, is of a round form, and the brazen wolf, which is now in the Capitol, was certainly preserved here till the sixteenth century. But this last fact, though much insisted on by Venuti, and perhaps sufficient to

¹ Lib. vii. c. 2.

^m C. 30.

ⁿ This is proved by Ciampini Vet. Mon. part i. c. 17.

prove it of considerable antiquity, is surely of no authority to demonstrate this to be the original building. The roof is unquestionably modern, nor is there any thing to a common eye which bespeaks peculiar antiquity. In Spence's *Anecdotes*° we may find another argument in favour of its antiquity: he says, that the Roman matrons of old used to carry their children when ill to the temple of Romulus; and the women still carry their children to S. Theodore on the same occasions. He adds, that the priests very wisely pray, that he would be so good as either to cure him, or to take him to himself. The former part of the story is confirmed by Pancirolli. The interior is perfectly plain. On the outside by the door is an old altar, on which an inscription says, that profane incense once burned. It is not known when it was converted into a church; Adrian I. in 774 repaired it; and it is said by Platina, that Nicolas V. entirely rebuilt it in 1450.

The front of S. Adriano in the Forum is ancient, and said to have been part of the Basilica of Paulus Æmilius, which would carry us back to the time of the Republic. S. Lorenzo in Miranda, at the north-east angle of the Forum, was formerly the temple of Antoninus and Faustina. S. Bernardo was one of the round buildings which formed the four corners of the Baths of Diocletian. The Certosa, or S. Maria

° P. 89.

degli Angioli, also belonged to the same baths. S. Cosmo and Damiano near the Forum preserves as a vestibule the ancient temple of Remus.

These and other churches should be mentioned first, if we adhered strictly to the order of time; but many of them come more properly under the head of antiquities; and when I speak of the earliest Christian churches as being interesting objects, I speak with reference to early Christian customs, and not to the other antiquities, which they have accidentally been the means of preserving.

In the road from the Colosseum to the Lateran may be seen one of the oldest churches in Rome, S. Clement, and according to an inscription in it, the only one which preserves the form of the ancient Basilica. Many however are very like it, except that there is an inclosure of marble round the altar, (imitated from the *Cella* of the Pagan temples,) and two marble *ambones* or pulpits. In other respects it is much the same with all the old churches in Rome; that is, it is divided into three aisles, and has a semicircular tribune or recess behind the altar. Sixteen pillars of different marbles seem all to have been taken from some ancient building. On the stone over the principal entrance (but not that which is commonly used from the street) in the inside is SAR. DIVI. NERVAE. FIL. The tessellated pavement also seems extremely ancient. The frescos by Masaccio, (who died in 1443,) in the Chapel

della Passione, are considered valuable as specimens of the art in that early age. They have lately been retouched, which was perhaps necessary to make them at all discernible, but has considerably destroyed the interest raised by them. Tradition says, that the house of Clement, the fellow-labourer of St. Paul, and third pope, was on this spot: his body also is said to repose under the altar. Whether he suffered martyrdom or no is not certain. The fact is not mentioned by Irenæus; and Rufinus and Pope Zosimus, who place him in the catalogue, lived in the fifth century. He has however a place in the calendar, and his day is observed on the 23d of November. He was pope for nine years and a half, beginning from the year 67. Gregory of Tours relates many stories of his life, which are evidently false.

Another very good specimen of the ancient church may be seen in S. Maria in Cosmedin. It is also called S. M. a Scuola Greca, because a school for teaching the Greek language was formerly kept here. Pancirolli derives its other name of Cosmedin from the same circumstance; as if it implied the *good order* which was preserved there. It was built by S. Dionysius, who was pope in 261. Stephen II. in 752, first established some Greeks here, who were driven from the east by Constantine Copronimus for worshipping images and saints. Adrian I. and Nicolas I. added much to it.

It has still another name, *Bocca della Verità*,

from an old stone placed near the entrance, in the middle of which is a mouth. This was anciently used as a kind of ordeal: the suspected person put his hand into the mouth, and if he was able to draw it out again, he was innocent. The church is said to stand upon the site of a temple to *Pudicitia Patricia*. By ascending a staircase some fine capitals may be seen of ancient columns, which were retained in the present building, but completely inclosed in masonry.

The church of Ara Celi deserves particular mention, from the venerable appearance of the building itself, and from the edifice to which it has succeeded. The Temple of Jupiter Fere-trius, built by Romulus, is supposed to have stood on the site of this church. It was here that the *Spolia Opima* were deposited. Not a vestige remains of this temple, except some of the foundations, which cannot easily be distinguished from those of other buildings, and perhaps some of the internal ornaments were appropriated to the modern edifice. Pancirolli explains the origin of the name of Ara Celi, but his explanation has something of the fabulous in it. He tells us, that Augustus, having asked of the oracle at Delphi who would succeed him in the empire, received this answer:

Me Puer Hebræis Divos Deus ipse gubernans
Cedere sede jubet tristemque redire sub Orcum;
Aris ergo dehinc tacitus abscedito nostris.

Augustus in consequence raised an altar on this hill, with the inscription *Ara primogenito Dei*. Tradition preserved the memory of the precise spot, and placed it not far from the present high altar. Anacletus, in 1130, (though he was antipope,) surrounded it with four pillars; and in 1603 it was farther ornamented, from whence this chapel got the name of Ara Celi. The ascent to the church is by a flight of 124 marble steps, constructed in 1348 by the alms of the faithful after the great plague, which Boccaccio has so well described as afflicting Florence in that year. Pancirolli says, that they were placed here by a senator of the name of Ottone of Milan, who used the marble from an ancient temple of Romulus, near the Porta Salara. Some devout persons ascend these steps on their knees, like those of the Scala Santa at the Lateran; and it is singular that Cæsar and Claudius are both recorded to have mounted to the capital on their knees, when going to return thanks in the Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus°. On the left of this ascent are to be seen the foundations already mentioned, part of which was destroyed in 1819, in preparation for a fete given to the Emperor of Austria.

The date of this church does not seem accurately known, but it is evidently extremely old, and wholly devoid of elegance or ornament on

° Dio, lib. xliii.

the outside. The interior is exceedingly curious, and presents little else but an assemblage of fragments from various ancient edifices. The floor is one mass of mosaic, apparently of the rarest antique stones, and become exceedingly uneven from age. The nave contains twenty-two pillars, uniform only in their antiquity. Some are of granite, others of different materials, and the capitals, which have been gilt, by no means correspond. On one of them is this inscription, A CVBICVLO AVGVSTORVM.

S. Pietro in Vincoli is very old; at least part of it is so. Tradition makes it to have been founded by Eudoxia, wife of the Emperor Valentinian, as stated below. An inscription in this church makes it to have been repaired by S. Pelagius in 555. There is a mosaic of S. Sebastian in one of the side aisles, which was executed in the seventh century. In the year 680 Pope Agatho made use of this mosaic to avert a dreadful pestilence, which had raged in Rome for three months^p. It is remarkable, that the face of the saint is here represented as that of an old man, contrary to the usual paintings. The pillars of the nave are ancient, and of the Doric order, but not very fine specimens of that simple style. This church has its name from the chain being preserved here with which St. Peter was bound at Jerusalem. It was sent from thence

^p Baronius, ad an. 680.

to Eudoxia, the wife of Valentinian, by her mother Eudocia, who delivered it to Pope Leo; and soon by a special miracle it united itself to another chain, which had bound the apostle at Rome. Eudoxia in consequence founded this church. Strangers will find it in vain to ask for a sight of this precious relic.

The chief object of attraction here is the statue of Moses, by Michael Angelo, which some have exalted as the *chef-d'œuvre* of that great sculptor, while others have abused and ridiculed it. It forms part of the tomb erected to Julius II. This pontiff invited M. Angelo to Rome soon after his succession in 1503. For some months the great sculptor employed himself in meditating the plan, without taking the chisel into his hands; and when at length he submitted the magnificent design to the Pope, he approved of it beyond measure, and is said to have been instigated by the grandeur of it to undertake the rebuilding of St. Peter's. Several statues and other ornaments were to have formed appendages to the tomb; but the figure of Moses was the first finished. The impatient temper of Julius was provoked at the delay, which so vast a work necessarily caused; and Michael Angelo finding the Pope become colder towards him, and not having the money or materials supplied so liberally as he wished, he abruptly left the work, and went to Florence. The Pope was now really mortified, and even sent a letter to the magistrates of Florence, requesting them to pacify M. Angelo, and

induce him to return. A letter, dated July 8th, 1506, is still extant^q, and is as follows :

“ Julius P. P. II. Dilectis filiis Prioribus Li-
 bertatis, et Vexillifero Justitiæ populi Floren-
 tini.

“ Dilecti filii, salutem et Apostolicam Bene-
 dictionem. Michael Angelus Sculptor, qui a
 nobis leviter et inconsulte decessit, redire, ut
 accepimus, ad nos timet, cui nos non succen-
 semus; novimus hujusmodi hominum ingenia.
 Ut tamen omnem suspicionem deponat, devo-
 tionem vestram hortamur, velit ei nomine no-
 stro promittere, quòd si ad nos redierit, illæsus
 inviolatusque erit, et in ea gratia Apostolica
 nos habituros, qua habebatur ante decessum.

“ Datum Romæ, 8 Julii 1506: Pontificatus
 nostri anno III.”

M. Angelo complied with this humble petition of the sovereign pontiff: the reconciliation took place at Bologna, and in 1508 he returned to Rome. He then continued for a while the execution of the tomb, but Julius called him very reluctantly from this work to decorate the Sistine chapel. In 1513 Julius died, and Leo X. who succeeded him, called M. Angelo off from his favourite work of the tomb, to rebuild the church of S. Lorenzo at Florence. The consequence of this was, that during the pontificate of Leo, the

^q Published in the *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. iii. p. 320.

monument of Julius remained almost untouched, but upon that Pope's death it was again resumed. The original design however was never executed; the statue of Moses was alone erected upon the tomb, and it was not placed in the Basilica of St. Peter, but in S. Pietro in Vincoli.

The question is very naturally asked, why such a figure should be introduced at all. But this ought not to interfere with the merits or demerits of the statue; we may censure the sculptor's taste for making it form part of a sepulchral monument, but having done that, we should submit the execution alone to the test of criticism. Opinions must be ever variable upon works of art; and it is only with such a production as the Apollo Belvedere, that persons should not venture to express any disappointment. But the Moses of M. Angelo has been so often criticised and so often abused, that there is no great presumption in stating some objections to it, or rather in repeating them, for they have struck thousands of persons before. In the first place, he is sitting down, or, as some say, preparing to rise, the effect of which is not dignified: he is besides brought so near, that the colossal size makes him look more like a savage than any thing else. The prodigious quantity of drapery adds to the heaviness, and his beard is quite a caricature. The horns also have been introduced, which even in painting seldom look well, and amount almost to an absurdity in sculpture: from the circumstance of the horns and the

beard, the statue has by some been said to resemble Pan or a Satyr more than Moses. There is however a fine expression in the whole, and one thing at least would be allowed by all, that it is the work of a great sculptor. No common artist could ever have conceived such a work. There is a celebrated sonnet composed by Giovambattista Zappi upon this subject :

Chi è costui, che in dura pietra scolto
 Siede gigante, e la piu illustre e conte
 Prove dell' arte avanza, e ha vive e pronte
 Le labbia si, che le parole ascolto?
 Quest' è Mosè: ben mel diceva il folto
 Onor del mento, e'l doppio raggio in fronte;
 Quest' è Mosè, quando scendea del monte,
 E gran parte del Nume avea nel volto.
 Tal era allor, che le sonante e vaste
 Acque ei sospese a se d'intorno, e tale
 Quando il mar chiuse, e ne fe tomba altrui.
 E voi, sue turbe, un rio vitello alzaste?
 Alzate aveste imago a questo eguale!
 Ch'era men fallo l'adorar costui.

What living form in solid marble bound
 Sits here gigantic, while each stretch of art
 Springs into being?—hark—there seems to start
 Forth from those living lips no fancied sound:
 'Tis He—his brow with forked radiance crown'd,
 His beard's full flowing honours speak his name;
 'Tis Moses—thus from off the mount of flame
 With godlike light encircling him he came.
 Such was his form, when huge and roaring waves
 Stood self-supported round him; thus he bade
 The sea to close and form a nation's tomb.

And did ye raise a molten calf, ye slaves?
Had your vain idol been like *this* array'd,
To worship such were light, and lighter were your
doom.

The church of S. Pudentiana stands on the site of the house of S. Prudentius, who was converted to Christianity by St. Peter, with his two sons Novatus and Timothy, and his two daughters Pudentiana and Prassede. St. Peter lived in this house from the second year of Claudius to the ninth. He left it when the edict was issued for all Jews to quit Rome, which is mentioned in Acts xviii. 2. It was here that he superintended the Gospel of St. Mark, and upon going away he gave to his host a portrait of our Saviour, which is still preserved in the church of S. Prassede. When he returned to Rome with St. Paul, A. D. 63, he again lodged with Pudens; and St. Paul mentions him in 2 Tim. iv. 21. Some commentators make the third Satire of Juvenal allude to the meetings held in this house. A church was built here by S. Pius I. in 144, but how much of the present building or whether any of it be of that date, I could not learn. The fourteen pillars, which divide it into three aisles, are perhaps the same which were erected then, and seem to have been taken from some older building. In the chapel to the right of the choir is the very altar on which St. Peter celebrated the mass. In the chapel of the Gaetani family is a well, in which S. Pudentiana put the blood of

the martyrs, who are buried in this church to the number of 3000! A notice may be seen here, that all persons who visit this church every day have an indulgence of 3000 years, and a remission of half their sins.

In point of grandeur and beauty, few churches have pleased me more than the Certosa, or S. Maria degli Angioli. It was a vast room, by some called a picture-gallery, in the baths of Diocletian, and converted into a church in 1561 by Pius IV. upon the designs of Michael Angelo: he formed it into a Greek cross, a shape which has been already praised as one particularly adapted to give an idea of extent and magnificence of proportion. As the floor suffered from damp, he raised it, by which means the eight granite columns belonging to the ancient edifice lost part of their height, and new bases were put of marble. In 1749 it underwent a great change, but the form of the Greek cross was still preserved, and eight pillars were added of brick to resemble the others. The imitation is extremely good. The original ones of granite are prodigiously fine, each being a solid mass of 46 feet in height: the diameter of four of them is 4 feet 2 inches, (French :) of the other four, 4 feet 4 inches. The capitals of the former are Corinthian, of the latter Composite. The cross is 298 feet in length either way, and the height is 91. The entrance is by a circular vestibule, likewise belonging to the ancient baths, which as well as the church of S. Bernardo was one of the round

buildings which stood at each of the four corners. Carlo Maratta and Salvator Rosa are buried here. The pictures are some of the best in Rome. Many of them, as has been already mentioned, were painted for St. Peter's, and removed hither. The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian is one of the finest works of Domenichino. The Baptism of Jesus Christ, by Carlo Maratta; the Conception of the Madonna, by P. Bianchi; the Fall of Simon Magus, by Pompeo Battoni; came from St. Peter's, and are all excellent. In 1701 a meridian line was drawn on the floor by M. Bianchini.

La Chiesa Nuova, or S. Maria in Vallicella, deserves an early mention, as being one of the largest and handsomest churches in Rome. It was built in 1577, and has its name from an old church, which stood here in a low situation. Some of the pictures are good, but the light is not favourable for seeing them. The ceiling and cupola were painted by Pietro da Cortona. The church was built by S. Filippo Neri, whose house or a part of it is still shewn annexed to the church: his confessional, his bed, and his shoes, are among the objects shewn. S. Filippo Neri is a saint of comparatively modern times; it not being above 225 years since he died. He was born at Florence, July 23d, 1515, and sent to Naples as a merchant; but disliking his profession, he went to Rome, and at the age of 38 became priest. He was celebrated for devotional exercises, and passed forty hours succes-

sively in prayer. The congregation of the Oratory was founded by him; and as music was particularly used in their solemnities, the term *oratorio* came to express compositions of sacred music. Oratorios are still performed during Lent in this church, at which no females can be present. Neri also encouraged Baronius to write his celebrated Annals. He died in 1595, and was canonized in 1622.

The church of the Holy Apostles in the Piazza of that name is also a fine structure. Some falling angels on the ceiling over the tribune are wonderfully painted. There is a fine tomb of Clement XIV. by Canova. I saw also an inscription to Maria Clementina, Queen of England, i. e. wife of the Pretender :

Hic Clementinæ remanent præcordia, nam cor
Cælestis fecit, ne superesset, amor.

Her body reposes in St. Peter's.

S. Maria sopra Minerva is so called from being built upon the ruins of the temple of Minerva, which Pompey erected after his conquests in Asia. Poggio, in his work upon the Mutability of Fortune, tells us, that some pillars and other remains of this temple were destroyed to make lime not long before his time, that is, in the fourteenth century. The church is unfinished on the outside, but the interior is handsome. The most celebrated work in it is the statue of our Saviour, by Michael Angelo. It is not often that this

subject has been treated in sculpture ; and perhaps it were better if the representation of his person were confined to painting. However there is nothing irreverent in the effect produced by M. Angelo in the work before us. It is deservedly reckoned amongst his finest and most successful efforts. One foot is covered with brass, that it may not be worn away by the kisses of the faithful. Leo X. is buried here, behind the altar. An Englishman also will observe, not far off, the tomb of Ph. Th. Howard Cardinal, "*Magnæ Britanniae Protector.*" He died May 21, 1694. The best library in Rome for printed books belongs to the Dominican convent here : it does not however seem to possess many of a modern date. Any stranger may enter without introduction, and ask for any book : a pleasing instance of liberality, which is frequent on the continent, and might be oftener imitated in our own country.

S. Andrea della Valle has a handsome front, and the interior is also extremely fine. The cupola is painted by Lanfranco, and is reckoned the most beautiful in Rome. At the four angles of it are the Evangelists by Domenichino, which surprised and pleased me as much as any paintings I ever saw. It is curious to find so learned a man as S. Jerom giving the following reason for the four beasts mentioned by Ezekiel¹ being represented together with the four Evangelists, as

¹ C. i. 5—10.

they are in this church. He says, that the face of the man was given to St. Matthew, because he begins his Gospel by writing of man, "*Liber Generationis Jesus Christi*, &c." The lion was applied to St. Mark, because he begins with the voice of a lion roaring in the wilderness. St. Luke has the ox, because his Gospel commences with mention of Zacharias the priest. The flying eagle represents St. John, because he soars higher than the other Evangelists, and discourses of the word of God. The ceiling of the tribune, representing the call of Peter and Andrew, is also by Domenichino, which is now much admired; but he himself could not bear to look at the work when finished, as we learn from a letter in the collection already noticed". The sentence is to this effect: "Is not the tribune of S. Andrea della Valle one of the finest things existing in fresco? and yet there was an idea of sending the masons with their hammers and pulling it down, so poor did it appear, when he threw it open to the public; and as he was passing by the church, he (Domenichino) stopped with his scholars to look at it, and shrugging up his shoulders he said to them, Well! I did not think that I had worked so ill as this."

In S. Carlo ai Catinari may be seen similar paintings at the angles of the cupola, also by Domenichino, but not equal to the former. This church is dedicated to S. Charles Borromeo, and

" Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 37.

has its name from a manufacture of wooden dishes, *catini*, being carried on in the Piazza in front of it. It was built in 1612. There is a painting of the saint behind the altar, by Guido. S. Charles, who was of the noble family of Borromeo at Milan, seems well deserving of the praise bestowed upon him by Eustace. His fame rests upon a far different foundation from that of many of his brethren in the calendar; and if ever a man deserved such reverence from his fellow-men, it would be S. Charles Borromeo. His family was one of illustrious rank at Milan, and he himself was son of Count Gibert Borromeo, by Margaret de' Medici, sister of Pius IV. He was made cardinal in 1560, and afterwards archbishop of Milan. He turned his attention particularly to establishing ecclesiastical seminaries, and reforming the religious orders. He was particularly instrumental in bringing the Council of Trent to a conclusion. His death happened in 1584, and he was canonized in 1610. Lives of him have been written by Guisano, Godeau, and others.

There are two churches celebrated for the paintings of Raffael, S. Agostino and S. Maria della Pace. It has been already mentioned, that the cupola of S. Agostino is said to have been the first constructed in Rome. The church was built in 1483. Upon one of the pillars of the nave is a painting of the prophet Isaiah, by Raffael. The first impression upon seeing this painting is the difference in the style of it from that

of all the other works of Raffael. The dispute, whether this great master profited by having seen the paintings of Michael Angelo in the Sistine chapel, is generally known. The question has been very ably handled in a letter from Luigi Crespi, (private chaplain to Benedict XIV.) to Bottari*. He rests principally upon the authority of Vasari, from whom it appears, that Raffael twice got admission to the Sistine chapel, while the work of M. Angelo was going on. M. Angelo left Rome after he had worked about a year in the chapel, on which occasion Bramante, who had the keys of it, let in Raffael. The consequence was, as Vasari asserts, that Raffael immediately repainted the figure of Isaiah, which he had already finished in S. Agostino. We must remark upon this story, that Vasari himself seems afterwards to have disbelieved it, and that M. Angelo appears never to have quitted Rome while he was engaged in this work†. The dates also will not agree.

When the paintings were half finished, the pope insisted upon their being opened to public inspection; upon which occasion Vasari says, that all Rome ran to see them, and Raffael among the rest. From this time, he adds, Raffael suddenly changed his manner, and to shew his powers, immediately executed the Prophets

* *Lettere Pittoriche*, vol. ii. p. 323—51.

† This is very satisfactorily made out by Roscoe, in his *Life of Leo X.* vol. iv. p. 323.

and Sibyls in the church of la Pace. Some of these assertions perhaps can never be proved or contradicted: but a simple statement of dates, as far as we can ascertain them, may be satisfactory. M. Angelo was first employed in the Sistine chapel in 1508, and finished his work in 1512. Raffael was called to Rome, and began the dispute upon the Sacrament in 1508. The figure of Isaiah was painted according to Vasari in 1511. Raffael finished the second room, in which is the painting of Heliodorus, in 1512.

The fact seems hardly questionable, that he might have seen the work of M. Angelo; and there is considerably strong evidence, that he actually did. The great admirers of Raffael in anxiety for his fame strenuously deny the fact; but they cannot deny, that he certainly made an alteration in his style about this time. Tradition says, that he painted this figure of Isaiah as a rival to the Prophets of M. Angelo in the Sistine chapel. The imitation is very apparent; and if the story be true, we must naturally conclude, that Raffael felt a jealousy for the fame, which those works had gained for his great rival: he must have studied them accurately to produce an imitation; and consequently the question is reduced to a very narrow limit, merely whether he saw the Sistine chapel before 1511. That he saw it afterwards, and studied the painting of these Prophets in particular, is evident; and surely it is a strange way of supporting the fame of Raffael or any master to say, that he scruti-

nized the finest productions of the art, with an eye even of jealous accuracy, and yet did not profit by them. No person would accuse Raffael of servilely imitating M. Angelo; perhaps he was unconscious that he was imitating him at all: but it is the characteristic of true genius to cull from every quarter the excellencies which present themselves, and to unite and identify them with its own.

The other church, S. Maria della Pace, was so called from the peace established among the Christian Princes by Sextus IV. The paintings in it are in fresco over the arches of the nave on the south side. They represent the Cumæan, Persian, Phrygian, and Tiburtine Sibyls*. There can be little doubt, that these were painted as rivals of M. Angelo's Sibyls in the Sistine chapel: but here he has followed his own style, and extremely beautiful they are. In the former church he was anxious to shew, that he also could adopt the style so much admired in his great rival: here he treated the same subject in his own manner, and set the one fairly against the other. Unfortunately the work of Raffael has suffered much more from age, than that of M. Angelo; and all the figures have lately been retouched: it may be added, that if they were half as much

* Raffael employed the assistance of one of his pupils for this work, Timoteo da Urbino. In the *Lettere Pittoriche*, (vol. ii. p. 90,) Sebastiano Resta says, that he had obtained the original drawings of these Sibyls: one half came from Nuremberg, the other half from Messina.

damaged as the frescos, which are near them, they must have received a great deal of restoration.

S. Agnese in the Piazza Navona is among the finest churches in Rome, both in the exterior and interior. It is in the form of a Greek cross, and ornamented with good statues and paintings. Among the former is S. Sebastian, altered from an antique by Paolo Campi; and a statue of S. Agnese. Little is known of this saint, except what is related by S. Ambrose^y and Prudentius^z. They tell us, that at the age of twelve or thirteen she suffered many tortures for her religion; and when the judge saw her disregard them, he ordered her to be publicly exposed; but the first person, who cast his eyes upon her, was struck with blindness. Her body is supposed to lie in the church dedicated to her in the Via Nomentana, which was built by Constantine. Some however say, that she was buried at Nomento, but that her head is at St. John Lateran: others again maintain, that her relics were conveyed to Constantinople, from thence to France, and after that to Manreza in Catalonia. They also pretend to preserve them at Utrecht.

The church of the Trinità de' Monti, conspicuous from its situation on the top of the Pincian hill, and the flight of 135 steps which lead to it, was built in 1494 by Charles VIII. King of France, when he was on his expedition to Na-

^y De Virginibus, lib. i. c. 2. ^z Hymn. xiv.

ples, and is still considered as belonging to the French nation. The Deposition from the Cross, a celebrated work of Daniel da Volterra, and painted under the direction of Michael Angelo, is here. In 1819, I saw it in a separate part of the building, where it had been placed to receive some restorations, having been detached from the wall by that extraordinary process, which is so successfully practised with fresco paintings at Rome. This art was known to the ancients. Vitruvius expressly says^a, that some paintings were taken from a wall at Sparta, the bricks themselves having been cut through, and were placed in wooden frames, after which they were carried to Rome, and put up in the Comitium. Pliny also^b talks of “*crustas parietum excisas, tabulis marginatis inclusas.*” The Descent from the Cross was first carried to the Capitol, but is finally to resume its former station in the church. There is another fine fresco by the same master, the Murder of the Innocents, of which there is an oil painting also by Daniel in the tribune at Florence. We may observe of these paintings, what is to be remarked in many by the early masters, that nearly all the figures have red hair. Considering the rarity of this circumstance in Italy, and that almost every native Italian is dark, it is difficult to explain what induced the first painters to make this alteration. I merely offer this remark, as one

^a Lib. ii. c. 8.^b Lib. xxxv. c. 45.

which may perhaps bear upon a very difficult subject, the cause of the revival of the art of painting in Italy. The earliest oil paintings now preserved in that country are by Greeks: but that will not furnish any explanation. The Germans, who dispute with the Italians the merit of having taken the lead, would perhaps think the circumstance of the red hair in their own favour.

The church of the Capucins in the Piazza Barberini must be visited for sake of the painting of Michael the Archangel by Guido. Opposite to it is St. Paul cured by Ananias, one of the best paintings of Pietro da Cortona. Over the door is the Cartoon of Giotto's Navicella, which is executed in mosaic over the entrance to St. Peter's. This is one of the largest convents of the order of Capucins, and it is perhaps not necessary to mention, that this is one of the most numerous orders. Matthew di Baschi, a Friar Minor or Franciscan of the convent of Monte Falco in the Duchy of Urbino, gave out in 1525, that God had enjoined him by a vision to more rigorous poverty, and he retired into solitude. Many joined him; and after suffering persecution, Clement VII. in 1528, allowed them to establish a society, and be called Friars Eremite Minor. Their more common title of Capucins is taken from the hood, which they wear. There were once 500 convents of this order, and 25000 Capucins. Before the visit of the French there were three or four hundred Friars in this convent,

and there are apartments for 1000. In 1819, there were not more than 80 or 90, but the numbers were increasing. The cemetery of the convent deserves to be seen. It is in vaults under the church, and the soil came from Jerusalem. When a Friar dies, he is put into the oldest grave, and the bones of the former occupant are removed into a general receptacle. The ceiling and walls are ornamented with skulls and bones disposed in the most fanciful shapes; all the furniture, even the lamps, are made of these materials. Some skeletons are dressed in the robe of the order.

S. Gregorio, on the Cælian hill, stands where St. Gregory, who was pope about A. D. 600, had his house. He was of the Anician family. The church is not remarkable; but from the terrace in front there is a most excellent view of the ruins of Rome. In a chapel detached from it are two superb frescos, painted as rival performances: one by Guido, representing St. Andrew led to crucifixion; and the other by Domenichino, of the flagellation of the same saint. Annibal Caracci said of the two paintings, "Guido's is the painting of the master," and turning to that of Domenichino, "This is the painting of the scholar, but who knew more about it than the master;" In another chapel is a marble table, on which S. Gregory every morning fed twelve poor pilgrims. In a cloister

* *Lettere Pittoriche*, tom. iii. p. 383.

I saw a monument to Sir Edward Carne, Knt. a lawyer, and ambassador to the Emperor and to Rome. After Queen Mary's death he left England. *Galfridus Vachanus* and *Thomas Fremanus* put up the monument. He died in 1561.

On the other side of the Tiber there are not many churches of much interest. S. Cecilia's is handsome. Part of the house where the saint lived is shewn here, and she herself lies buried under the high altar; but the French carried off the silver urn which contained her bones. There is a recumbent statue of her in marble. Little or nothing is known of this musical lady; nor are the martyrologists agreed, whether she suffered under Alexander Severus, M. Aurelius, Commodus, or Diocletian. She has been honoured as a saint since the fifth century; and there are accounts of her body being found in the cemetery of S. Sixtus in the year 821: but that discovery was perhaps premature, as the real body was found at the end of the sixteenth century in her own church. The 22d of November is sacred to her. In the list of relics, the following struck me as curious: part of Christ's vest; two of the thorns; part of the sponge; some milk of the Virgin Mary; part of her veil and of her chemise; part of the vest and staff of Joseph; two teeth of St. Peter; seven rings of the chain by which he was bound; one tooth of St. Paul; part of St. James's chin; part of the head and two fingers of St. Thomas; and Mary Magdalen's great toe.

S. Maria in Trastevere is a handsome church ; and the twenty-two Ionic columns, which divide it into three aisles, appear to have belonged to some ancient building. The Assumption of the Virgin is a very fine painting by Domenichino. This is stated to have been the first church publicly dedicated to God in Rome. It was in the year 224, and the worship of the Virgin is said to have been acknowledged in the title of it. In 340 it was entirely rebuilt by S. Julius.

S. Pietro in Montorio was formerly visited by all strangers to see the wonderful painting of the Transfiguration by Raffael. This is generally called the finest picture in the world, though the Communion of St. Jerom, by Domenichino, makes the prize doubtful. The Transfiguration was one of the last works of Raffael, and was executed for the cathedral of Narbonne, by order of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. Sebastian del Piombo painted, as a rival to it, the Raising of Lazarus, which is now in the possession of Mr. Angerstein. After the return of the Transfiguration from the Louvre, it was put up in the Vatican, and the church of S. Pietro in Montorio still enjoys a pension in lieu of it. The present church was built by Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain ; and is said to stand near the place where St. Peter was crucified. Over the precise spot is a beautiful little temple, built by Palladio. The origin of the name of the hill on which it stands, Mons Aureus or Montorio, is uncertain ; but as this is said to be the spot where St. Peter was crucified,

the name of *Golden Hill* has been thought to allude to the value imposed upon it by that event. Andrea Fulvio says, with greater probability, that it came from some sand of a yellow or golden colour being dug up here.

We must remember, that St. Peter was crucified on this hill, but was buried at the Vatican. I should be inclined to believe the latter tradition, and perhaps the former may be true also : but the place of his interment is more likely to have been kept in remembrance than that of his suffering. Some Protestant writers have thought it necessary to deny that St. Peter was ever at Rome at all. I confess that I am utterly at a loss to see what great advantage we give to the Catholics by allowing their first pope to have resided at Rome. But at all events, truth is to be preferred to prejudice ; and the Protestant cause is so great a gainer by the records of authentic history, that it would be the height of ingratitude in us to endeavour to pervert its testimony. After examining the evidence produced by Baronius, the conclusion seems irresistible, that St. Peter undoubtedly spent several years at Rome, and suffered martyrdom there. Eusebius states in his Chronicle, that after founding a church at Antioch, he came to Rome, and continued bishop of it for twenty-five years. The accounts of other early writers are to the same effect. I shall only mention below the names of some of them, which I copy from Baronius, and

leave the examination of their authority to my readers^d.

An Englishman may be allowed to notice the church of St. Thomas, or S. Tomaso degl' Inglesi, though it has no particular beauty to recommend it. The Romans say, that previous to 630, Offa had built or restored a church in this place, which was dedicated to the holy Trinity, and was one of the twenty privileged abbeys. Each of these had a hospital for the reception of pilgrims who visited Rome. Those from England were lodged here. In 817 the building was burnt down, and Egbert had it restored. A rich Englishman, John Scopard, is also said to have left considerable property towards the maintenance of this church. When Becket went to Rome, he lodged here; and when he was canonized by Alexander III. two years after his death, the church took the name of St. Thomas. One of his arms is preserved in it, and there are several relics of him in Rome. Gregory XIII. out of kindness to the English nation, which he hoped to convert from its lamentable heresy, established a seminary here for English students, who were bound to return to their native country, and endeavour

^d Jerom. de Script. Eccl. in Petro. Irenæus, lib. iii. c. 1. Tertullian de præscript. Lactantius, lib. iv. c. 21. Ambrosius in Natal. Apost. Augustin. Ser. vii. in Natal. Apost. Of Greek writers we have Papias, apud Euseb. lib. ii. c. 13. Euseb. lib. ii. c. 13, 14. Chrysost. de Petro et Paulo. Cyrillus Epist. ad Cælest. Sozom. lib. iv. c. 14.

to reestablish the Catholic religion, whenever it should seem good to their superiors. The church contains some paintings of the "martyrdoms suffered by many Catholics under the cruel reign of Elizabeth." This account is taken from Pancirolli, who has written a description of all the churches in Rome. It may not be unacceptable to the reader to give a short extract from this work, in which he notices the secession of the English Church. "The spirit of Henry II. seems to have been inherited by Henry VIII. who made himself head of the English Church in order to divorce himself from his legitimate consort, the sister of the King of Spain, and to marry a low woman, (*malvagia*,) so that Paul III. was obliged to excommunicate him. From that time forward the affairs of religion in that kingdom have been constantly going from bad to worse; all his successors, as well male as female, having continued to make themselves revered as vicars of Christ."

There is a church on the other side of the Tiber which is dedicated to St. Edmund, and applied to the same purpose as the last. Two Edmunds, saints and kings of England, are recorded in the Romish calendar. The date of the first is not known: the second was killed by the Danes in 870. Considering the dubious claims of some of the popish saints, it is but fair to our countryman to state, that he really existed, and was really killed by the Danes in the year mentioned. The reasons of his being admitted into

the calendar are not so satisfactory. Matthew of Westminster tells us, that after the defeat at Thetford, he was obliged to surrender to the Danish army at Heglesdune. Not satisfied with simply putting him to death, the enemy fastened him to a tree, and transfixed him with arrows, till, as the honest chronicler expresses it, his body resembled a hedge-hog. His head was then severed from his body, and both were thrown unburied into a neighbouring wood. When the Danes quitted that part of the country, the inhabitants commenced a search after their saint and king. They vociferated for a long time, Where are you? when at length, to the surprise and delight of all, the head replied, Here, here, here! Soon after a wolf was seen carrying the head in his paws; and it was interred, together with the body, near the spot! St. Edmundsbury was called after this saint.

PALACES.

HAVING mentioned the Churches of Rome, we come next to the Palaces. An Englishman travelling in Italy must divest himself of the idea which he usually attaches to the word *palace*. In our own country we understand by it the residence of royalty; and affixing ideas of magnificence to the term, we often complain of being disappointed with the foreign palaces, whereas in our own country it is the general observation, that the royal palaces are inferior to private houses. In Italy the residence of every nobleman is called a palace. In Rome they are abundantly frequent; and if a concise description were demanded of them, it would not be far from the truth to say, that with a splendid outside, they display a lamentable want of comfort and inattention to cleanliness in the interior. The plan is nearly the same in all of them: they are built round a quadrangle, with a large staircase opening into the court: the rooms communicate with each other, sometimes round the

whole of the quadrangle, and form a suit of apartments on each floor sufficient to constitute a house. But with all this scale of splendor, there is little or nothing in a Roman palace worth seeing, except the works of art. Even this attraction has been diminished in latter times, the poverty of the nobles having compelled many of them to sell their pictures. That splendor of furniture and decoration which characterizes the English houses, whether in town or country, is unknown at Rome. The difference of climate probably made the taste of the two countries originally different; and the great contrast in national wealth, particularly in later times, has made it more apparent now. An Englishman, accustomed to a cold climate, has recourse to every thing which ingenuity and refinement can devise to exclude the outward air. That word of truly British growth, and which is to be found neither in the feelings, nor in the language of any other country, *comfort*, makes various articles of domestic use indispensable in England, which are little valued abroad. In Rome the inhabitants are used to live a great deal in the outward air, and they study accordingly to preserve their dwelling-rooms cool. A brick floor without a carpet is revolting to our feelings, and still more so when seen in a palace: a stove appears but a poor substitute for a fireplace; and we are apt to condemn these residences of the Roman nobles, as a display of

splendid misery. In former times they were undoubtedly much more brilliant than they are at present. For now, independent of any difference which might be caused by climate, the poverty and dirtiness of the owner is in many instances disgustingly apparent.

It is however not fair to condemn a Roman noble because his palace is dirty on the ground floor, or even on the first story. The quadrangle at the bottom generally serves for a court or stable-yard, with offices round it; and the first floor is not unfrequently let to tradesmen or other occupiers. Many English families have of late been accommodated in the Roman palaces; the suits of rooms being so extensive, the owner finds one floor sufficient for his own use, and is glad to make money by letting the remainder. All this is very discordant with our notions: but if the Roman nobles are now become poor, we should recollect, that at the time when their palaces were built, they must have far exceeded ourselves in ideas of magnificence. In some of the quadrangles the whole house of a nobleman in London might be placed: nor in point of style can we at all compare the architecture of the two countries.

Having made these general observations, it is not my intention to describe each palace in particular, but I shall content myself with giving some account of that in which the pope resides. For upwards of a thousand years from the time

of Constantine the popes lived in the Lateran palace: but during their residence at Avignon it fell into such decay, that Gregory XI. who brought back the holy see to Rome, did not think it suitable or safe, and removed to the Vatican, which was rendered secure during those turbulent times by its vicinity to the castle of S. Angelo. The Lateran palace was rebuilt in 1586 by Sextus V.; and in 1693 Innocent XII. turned it into a hospital for the poor. It was in this palace that the Lateran Councils were held, of which eight are mentioned by the best authorities, viz. in 313, 499, 500, 501, 745, 861, 993, 1065. For some time past the popes have resided exclusively on the Quirinal hill, or Monte Cavallo, leaving the Vatican merely for the celebration of ceremonies. The Vatican however being the most ancient, and by far the most celebrated, I shall confine myself to that.

THE VATICAN.

The dimensions of this palace, and the number of rooms assigned to it, border upon the marvellous. The whole pile of building, together with the gardens, is said to comprise a circumference of some miles: and while some accounts make the number of apartments 4422, others swell it to 13000*! The effect of all this mass of

* Bonanni does this, p. 225.

architecture is any thing but pleasing : from no point of view does it present any extent of front or magnificence of design ; while its proximity to St. Peter's interferes most unfortunately with the view of that building. It is in fact a collection of apartments built by several popes. When it was first begun is not clearly known. There was certainly a palace here in the time of S. Leo III. as Charlemagne resided in it A. D. 800. Celestin III. added to it in 1191-8, as did Innocent III. 1198-216 ; and Nicolas III. in 1278. Nicolas V. in 1447-55 built the rooms, which were afterwards painted by Raffael. Leo X. added the triple portico, the middle one of which is also painted by Raffael, and is thence called *Le Loggie di Raffaello*. Sextus V. added an entirely new palace, and Pius VI. built what is called the *Museo Pio-Clementino*. The paintings and statues preserved in this building, together with its prodigious library, have deservedly raised the fame of the Vatican above that of every other palace in the world. The pictures are not numerous ; but those which are here are all excellent, and the paintings in fresco are some of the most wonderful productions which exist.

The Sistine chapel deserves to be mentioned first. It derives its name from Sextus IV. who employed Baccio Pintelli to build it, and had the walls of the two sides painted by several Florentine artists about the year 1474. It is a very large and lofty oblong room, with scarcely any

of the usual furniture of a chapel, and is used on few occasions, except in the holy week, and the first Sunday in Advent. The cardinals also meet here in conclave to elect a new pope.

Not long after Michael Angelo returned to Rome from Bologna in 1508, Julius II. employed him very much against his will to paint the ceiling. Previous to this time he had been very little employed in painting, having acquired his celebrity by sculpture. He had executed the Bacchus and the David, which are now at Florence, and the Pietà, which is in St. Peter's. At this very time also he was employed by the Pope in executing a monument for himself, which has become universally celebrated by the statue of Moses^f. Vasari tells us, that Julius was advised both by San Gallo and Bramante, the two celebrated architects, to employ M. Angelo in painting the chapel. Bramante seems to have given his advice partly from jealousy, and from a wish to hinder the fame of M. Angelo and his favour with the Pope from eclipsing that of his relation Raffael. He therefore thought, that if M. Angelo was called away from his favourite pursuit

^f It is singular, that Phidias, who was one of the greatest sculptors of antiquity, was also a painter, (Plin. lib. xxxv. c. 34.) Michael Angelo's fame in this double capacity is celebrated by Ariosto in his Orlando Furioso. Canto xxxiii. 2.

Duo Dossi, e quel, che a par sculpe e colora
Michel piu che mortal Angiol divino.

Ariosto and M. Angelo were born in the same year, 1474.

of sculpture, in which his fame was already so great, and was employed in some work of painting, he would either fail, and so make the success of Raffael still more conspicuous; or it would at least have the effect of keeping the attention of Julius fixed upon works of painting, in which case Raffael could not fail to share his notice and applause^s. He reluctantly undertook the task; and if we may believe Vasari, he even recommended Raffael to be employed. So anxious was he for the success of the work, that he even prepared the colours with his own hands, and finished the whole with scarcely any assistance. The agreement, which he made with the Pope, through Bramante, was for 15000 ducats. He constantly refused to admit any person into the chapel while the work was going on: but in 1511, when about half of it was finished, the Pope insisted upon it being thrown open to public inspection. This was accordingly done. The great artist was then urged more than ever by the Pope to hasten its completion, and on Nov. 1, 1512, the whole work was concluded, and the public admitted without reserve. The latter part was finished in about 20 months^h.

^s Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 331, &c.

^h A story is told by Vasari in the first edition, which he published of his *Lives of the Painters*, that the Pope entered the chapel by stealth to see the painting: and that M. Angelo, who had pretended to quit Rome for a few days, received him with a shower of rubbish from the scaffolding, in consequence of which he left Rome. This anecdote has been repeated by later

He selected subjects from the Old Testament for the ceiling; among which may be observed several circumstances attending the creation, treated in a most sublime manner, and with an effect truly astonishing. He also painted some prophets and sibyls over the windows, which are among the finest works which he has left. These sibyls are five in number, and are known by the name of the Persian, Erythræan, Delphian, Cumæan, and Libyan. The introduction of such figures at all into a Christian Church may seem extraordinary, and a little digression may be allowed to explain the cause.

The story of the conference between Tarquinius Priscus and the Sibyl is too well known to need insertion. He appointed two persons to take care of the books, and U. C. 388 the number was increased to ten. We frequently read of the Sibylline books being consulted upon any remarkable or calamitous event, and the greatest secrecy was observed in the preservation of them. In the year of Rome 671, or A. C. 83, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, in which they were kept, was burnt, and the precious documents destroyed. In consequence of which three ambassadors were dispatched to Erythræ, Sa-

writers, but is evidently false. Vasari omitted it in his subsequent edition; and the quarrel between the painter and the pope, which made the former retire to Florence, was while he was engaged in executing the tomb, as I have already mentioned at p. 493. The date of the pope's letter, which is given p. 494, fully proves the mistake.

mos, Ilium, and other places, to collect any prophecies of the Sibyls which were known. They brought back about 1000 verses¹. The number of curators was then increased to 15, and afterwards to 40, but the name of Quindecemviri still continued. Augustus removed the books to the palace; but whether they were destroyed by any of the fires, which raged in that quarter, does not appear. Mention is certainly made of the Sibylline books to a late period. Ammianus notices them, A. D. 363, and Claudius Numatianus in 389. But from what has been stated, it might be expected, that great confusion would arise as to what were the original prophecies, and whether the subsequent additions were genuine or no. The Christians took advantage of them at an early period, forcing some into an interpretation favourable to their religion, and by a pious fraud inventing others. A Treatise has been written upon the subject by David Blondel, in which he conjectures, that the forgery began about the year 138, and he even accuses Hermas of being accessory to it. The Gnostics pretended to have some genuine works of Noah's wife: to meet which formidable document, the orthodox party produced the writings of Noah's daughter, whom they called a Sibyl. As many as eight books were circulated under the name of Sibylline; and nearly 20 persons from different countries are mentioned as Sibyls. Of these the five

¹ Tacitus An. lib. vi. c. 12. Lactant. lib. ii. c. 6.

already named became the most celebrated ; and some of the early fathers, pious and learned men, believed that they really had prophesied of our Saviour. It will be sufficient to mention Justin Martyr and Clemens Alexandrinus ; the latter of whom even quotes St. Paul as recommending the study of these writings. The Catholics have particularly appealed to them in support of some of the doctrines, which are now rejected by the Protestants : and this will sufficiently account for their being joined in company with the prophets in the Sistine chapel.

The paintings on the side-walls are also deserving of the greatest attention. They were executed by some of the most celebrated revivers of the art, and would well justify a description more in detail.

M. Angelo was not employed any more in this chapel till the time of Paul III. nearly thirty years after his first work there. This pope was so anxious to have the benefit of his talents, and yet found him so difficult to be prevailed upon, that he went in person to his house with ten cardinals to beg him to execute a painting of the last judgment. The great master complied, was employed eight years upon the work, and opened it to the public in Christmas 1542. This end of the chapel was before occupied by three paintings of Pietro Perugino. There is an original letter existing from M. Angelo to Pietro Aretino the poet, from which we may ascertain the fact, that the design was entirely his own.

He says, "I was delighted and grieved by the receipt of your letter. I was delighted at its coming from you, whose merit is so remarkable; and I was also much grieved, because as I have finished great part of the story, I cannot execute your ideas, which are of such a cast, that if the day of judgment had taken place, and you had actually seen it, your words could not describe it better." At the end he dissuades him from coming to Rome to see the progress of the painting^k.

The letter of Aretino is also preserved in the same collection: and the contents of it will perhaps excuse my translating that part of it, which contains his ideas upon the subject, which M. Angelo was to represent. It is dated Venice, September 15, 1537. "In my opinion you ought to be satisfied with having surpassed every one else in your other works: but I perceive, that with the termination of the universe, which you are now employed in painting, you think to surpass the commencement of the world^l, which you have already painted: that your works surpassed by themselves may give you a triumph over yourself. Who would not be dismayed in applying his pencil to such a terrific subject? I see Antichrist in the middle of the crowd with a semblance, which none but you could conceive. I see the terror in

^k Vide Lettere Pittoriche, vol. ii. p. 17.

^l Alluding to the paintings on the ceiling, finished in 1512.

“ the countenances of the living: I see the
“ symptoms of extinction in the sun, the moon,
“ and the stars. I see Fire, and Air, and Earth,
“ and Water, as it were, yielding up their spirit.
“ I see Nature at a distance confounded, con-
“ centrating her barrenness in the decrepitude of
“ age: I see Time dried up and trembling, who
“ being come to his utmost limit is seated on a
“ withered trunk; and while I perceive the hearts
“ in every breast agitated by the trumpets of the
“ angels, I see Life and Death overwhelmed by
“ the horrible confusion; for the former is la-
“ bouring to resuscitate the dead, the latter is
“ preparing to overthrow the living. I see Hope
“ and Despair conducting the ranks of the good
“ and the crowds of the wicked: I see the
“ theatre of clouds coloured by the rays pro-
“ ceeding from the pure fires of heaven, upon
“ which Christ is seated amongst his hosts, sur-
“ rounded by splendor and by terrors. I see
“ his face glitter; and darting out fiery sparks
“ of a light delightful and terrible; he fills the
“ righteous with joy, the wicked with alarm.
“ Meanwhile I see the ministers of the abyss,
“ who with horrid look, with the glory of saints
“ and martyrs, make game of the Cæsars and the
“ Alexanders, telling them how conquest over
“ self differs from conquest of the world. I see
“ Fame with her crowns and her palms under
“ foot, tossed aside amidst the wheels of her
“ chariots. Finally, I see the great sentence
“ issuing from the mouth of the Son of God. I

“ see it in the form of two rays, one of salvation,
 “ and the other of damnation; and as I trace
 “ them flying downward, I perceive their fury
 “ impinge upon the elemental frame, and with
 “ tremendous thunderings dissipate and dissolve
 “ it. I see the lights of Paradise, and the
 “ furnaces of the abyss, dividing the darkness,
 “ which has fallen upon the face of the air; so
 “ that the thought, which represents to my ima-
 “ gination the destruction of the last day, says
 “ to me, If we tremble and are afraid in con-
 “ templating the work of Buonarrotti, how shall
 “ we tremble and be afraid, when we shall be-
 “ hold ourselves judged by him, who ought to
 “ judge us!” The sublimity of conception,
 which dictated these terrific images, will excuse
 the introduction of this passage, and the in-
 sufficiency of the translation. The last judg-
 ment, impossible as it seems to be conceived by
 mortal thought, has at least met with two mas-
 ters, who have placed it sensibly before us, and
 in some measure brought it down to the level of
 our imaginations.

We may be allowed to pause a little upon this
 painting, as it is perhaps the most wonderful
 specimen of the art in the world. I mean, the
 most surprising monument of genius and imagi-
 nation: for unless we confound the ideas of the
 beautiful and the sublime, and conceive, that the
 former is always contained in the latter, it must

^m Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 59.

be acknowledged, that many other paintings are more pleasing at the first view. But notwithstanding the ridiculous way, in which some part of the subject is treated, and the mixture of sacred and profane history throughout, this work of M. Angelo will surprise and please more and more every time that it is examined. It will perhaps be more admired when considered in single groupes, than as a whole.

There is an amusing story told concerning a figure, which was intended as a portrait of a certain master of the ceremonies, who had complained to the pope of the indecency of the paintingⁿ. This was Biagio of Cesena: the painting was not quite finished when he made this complaint, and M. Angelo introduced his portrait as a Demon with ass's ears, encircled with a large serpent, and placed him in hell. Biagio again complained, and the pope requested the painter to release him. M. Angelo replied, that had he been only in purgatory, it might have been possible, but from hell there was no redemption.

Pius IV. being offended with so many of the figures being naked, ordered Daniel da Volterra to remove the objection, who from this circumstance was called *Brachettone*. Paul IV. had mentioned the objection to M. Angelo himself, but he would not make any alteration. Stefano Pozzi completed the covering by order of

ⁿ Vid. Salvator Rosa, Sat. iii. p. 84.

Clement XIII. It seems, that the Catholics were alarmed, lest the Lutherans should make the indecency of the paintings at Rome an objection to the Roman tenets^o.

After all, we see this sublime work in the most disadvantageous manner: it is now more than two centuries and a half since it was completed, and the action of damp united with the smoke from the incense and the candles has thrown a great obscurity over the whole. In the present age we may perhaps be allowed to regret, that the great masters painted so much in fresco. M. Angelo was accustomed to say, that painting in oils was an occupation for women: so convinced was he of the greater difficulty and merit of executing works in fresco. He confirmed this observation by his practice; and though he unquestionably amused himself occasionally with oils, it is asserted upon the best authority^p, that there is not one undisputed oil-painting of his in existence. Many are exhibited, as laying claim to this honour, which perhaps were executed by his pupils, and may have received some touches from the master himself. Whatever may be the comparative merits of the two arts, we have evidently suffered by fresco painting being preferred: for while we have pictures in oils by Leonardo da Vinci, Raffael, and others contemporary with M. Angelo, the colours of which

^o Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 57.

^p Lanzi, vol. i. p. 140, &c.

seem as fresh as when they were first laid on, (and perhaps more pleasing in the effect,) those which were painted upon the wall have in a great part perished, and the rest are daily becoming more indistinct; so that unless this new discovery of detaching frescos from the wall can preserve such works, our descendants will be enabled to judge of these great efforts only by copies and engravings. It might be thought, that the ancients mixed their colours for painting upon plaister better than the moderns, at least that they were more durable. Pliny⁴ mentions some paintings still existing at Ardea, Cære, and Lanuvium, which were older than the foundation of Rome; and had received little or no injury, though in a ruined building, and exposed to the air. This would give them an antiquity of 800 years and upwards.

The Pauline chapel, which is near the Sistine, was erected by Paul III. about 1540, with designs of Antonio San Gallo. This also is used only on great festivals. The holy Sacrament is always kept there, and the popes were formerly created in it: but that ceremony is now performed in the Sistine chapel. The walls are painted in fresco; and two of the subjects, the Conversion of St. Paul, and the Crucifixion of St. Peter, are by Michael Angelo: they were nearly his last works; but they have suffered so much, and there is so

⁴ Lib. xxxv. c. 6.

little light, that it is difficult to make out any design at all.

These two chapels are connected by the *Sala Regia*, which was built by Antonio San Gallo, and painted first by Perino del Vaga, and afterwards by Vasari. These paintings may be interesting to a zealous Catholic; but a phlegmatic Protestant, who prefers authentic history to traditions of the church, will look at them only with a smile. They almost all relate to some circumstance which tended to exalt the holy see; but the massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day might surely as well have been omitted. It is painted by Vasari.

The *Loggie di Raffaello* are, as I mentioned, three open galleries, one above the other, which go round three sides of a square court. The building was finished upon the designs of Raffael, having been begun by Bramante; and in the middle gallery the ceiling of one side is painted entirely after designs of Raffael. He employed in the work several of his pupils, Giulio Romano, Pierin del Vaga, Polidoro, and Maturino da Caravaggio, &c. &c. The ceiling is divided into thirteen compartments, each of which contains four paintings. All the subjects are taken from the Old Testament, and some are by Raffael himself. In the first compartment, which contains the creation, God dividing light from darkness is by him, and much admired. But surely this is a subject too sublime for the greatest human genius. Raffael probably chose

it, because Michael Angelo had represented the same subject on the roof of the Sistine chapel.

The walls are covered with Arabesques, which are also upon the designs of Raffael: and he is said to have borrowed them from the baths of Titus, which were excavated in his days. But the story which is added, of his covering up the excavations as soon as he had finished his copies, in order that the imitation might be concealed, is one which few would believe, except on the most undeniable evidence. I have already attempted to prove the falsehood of it in a former part of this work: and it may be added, that it would have been impossible for Raffael to have had the praise of originality, even if he had wished it, as similar paintings had been discovered in excavations at Tivoli, Pozzuoli, and other places. The *Loggie* were painted between the years 1513 and 1521.

The *Camere di Raffaello* are a series of rooms, mostly painted by that great master, and contain some of the most valuable works which he has left. These too are all in fresco, and have suffered considerably from time. The subjects of them are well known by the engravings of Volpato. Julius II. commenced the ornamenting of these rooms, and employed as painters Pietro della Francesca, Bramantino da Milano, Luca da Cortona, Pietro della Gatta, and Pietro Perugino. The latter, as is well known, was Raffael's master: and by his recommendation, as well as that of Bramante, who was related to

him. Raffael was called from Florence to Rome in the year 1508, when he was 25 years of age. Some make him not to have gone to Rome till 1510'. He was first employed in the Camera della Segnatura, and finished what is generally called the Dispute upon the Sacrament. The Pope was so astonished and delighted with this effort, that he ordered all which was done by the other artists to be destroyed, that all the rooms might be painted by Raffael. It is said, that he received for each large painting 1200 crowns of gold. He however spared the work of his master Perugino, which is still to be seen upon the ceiling of this apartment.

The first room is not painted by Raffael, as he did not live to complete it. It is called the hall of Constantine, from a large painting of the victory of that Emperor over Maxentius. Raffael had finished the design, and prepared to paint it upon the wall in oils, when he died. It was then finished chiefly by Giulio Romano, who preferring to work in fresco destroyed all that his master had done, except two figures of Justice and Benignity, which were already finished. The head of S. Urban also, who is one of the eight popes painted in this room, is by Raffael. The other seven figures are S. Peter, S. Clement, S. Gregory, S. Damasus, S. Leo I, S. Silvester, and S. Alexander I. The painting of the Appearance of the Cross to Constantine is also said to be by

' Vid. Lanzi, vol. ii. p. 53.

Giulio Romano. The other two walls are painted by celebrated artists.

The second room contains the story of Heliodorus, taken from the third chapter of the second Book of Maccabees. The whole design is allowed to be by Raffael; but some say, that it was painted wholly or in part by Giulio Romano. Bellori however says, that it is all by Raffael. The date of 1514 is upon it; and yet Fea, in his description of the Vatican, says, that it was executed previous to 1512; from whence he argues, that it could hardly be the work of Giulio Romano, who was not then twenty years old. Julius II. is intended to be represented by the figure of Onias, the high priest, who is carried on a chair. This Pontiff boasted to be the liberator of the church, and the restorer of its property. The secretary in front, who is one of the supporters, is Marc-Antonio Raimondi, a pupil of Raffael and an engraver: following him is another secretary, with this inscription, J. Pietro de Folariis Cremonens.

On the wall opposite to this is S. Leo I. going out to meet Attila, and S. Peter and S. Paul appearing in the sky. S. Leo is a portrait of Leo X. the then reigning Pontiff, and allusion was probably intended to his having dispossessed Louis XII. of the states of Milan, and in fact driven him out of Italy. Not far from the pope are three officers on horseback: the one in red is intended for Pietro Perugino. A building in the back-ground looks like the Colosseum; but as

this scene took place near the river Mincius, it could hardly be meant for it; though the great painters were not particularly scrupulous in combining such incongruities.

On one of the other sides is the Miracle of Bolsena, which consisted in a priest being convinced of transubstantiation by drops of blood appearing when he broke the wafer. It was painted in 1512, and Julius II. is introduced with some Cardinals.

Opposite to this is the Liberation of St. Peter from prison. In this an allusion was intended to the liberation of Leo X. then Cardinal, after the battle of Ravenna. It is deserving of remark in this painting, that there are four different lights introduced. The date is 1514. The ceiling of this room, which has suffered considerably, is also by Raffael.

The third room, called *La Camera della Segnatura*, was painted entirely by Raffael. This was the first apartment in which he was employed; and the first painting is that which is generally called the Dispute upon the Sacrament. This title is probably erroneous: and as there are on the ceiling figures of Theology, Philosophy, Poetry, and Jurisprudence, and the paintings under each correspond to these figures, it would seem more appropriate to call this, which was his first performance, Theology. The four Doctors of the Latin Church, Gregory, Jerom, Ambrose, and Augustin, are introduced in it, together with other divines, an altar with the

Eucharist, and in the Heavens the Trinity and various saints. This bears marks of Raffael's early style, and will not please so much as the others. Critics have discovered, that he began on the right-hand side of the wall ; and they observe a manifest improvement in the style during the progress of the painting. It is also interesting from some portraits, which he has introduced. In a groupe of three figures, that which is leaning on a marble parapet, with his right hand upon an open book, is Bramante. At the right-hand corner are two figures, and several heads behind them : one of these heads represents Dante in profile with a wreath of laurel, and near him St. Thomas Aquinas, and Scotus. Not far off is Savonarola, also in profile, and dressed in black.

Opposite to Theology is Philosophy, or, as it is generally called, the School of Athens. Vasari erroneously styles it the Agreement of Philosophy and Astronomy with Theology. This painting has suffered like the rest ; but it is still sufficiently perfect to command universal admiration. Archimedes, who is tracing with compasses on a tablet, is Bramante : the young man near to him, with one knee upon the ground, who is looking back, and shewing the figure to his companion, is Frederick II. Duke of Mantua. The two figures to the left of Zoroaster, who may be known by the globe in his hand, are Raffael himself and his master Perugino. A youth in a white mantle, with his hand in his breast, by the side of Py-

thagoras, is Francesco Maria della Rovere, Duke of Urbino, and great nephew to Julius II. The original cartoon of this painting is in the Ambrosial Library at Milan. There is an old engraving of it by Georgio Mantovano, which was retouched by Tomosino, and converted into St. Paul preaching at Athens. Tomosino added a glory and a diadem to Plato and Aristotle. It was also engraved in 1524 by Agostino Veneziano, who transformed Pythagoras into St. Mark, and the youth, who is stooping down with the tablet, into an Angel with the Salutation.

Poetry is represented by Mount Parnassus, on which are Apollo, the Muses, and various poets. Behind Homer is a portrait of Dante in profile: he is following Virgil, dressed in a red mantle, with a cap crowned with laurel. Another head crowned with laurel near to Virgil is supposed to be Raffael himself. Beneath these and in front is Sappho, holding in her left hand a volume inscribed with her name. She is turning towards a groupe of four figures, of which the woman with flowing hair, in conversation with a man and pointing to Homer, is intended for Corinna; and it is supposed, that the two figures are intended for Petrarch and Laura. The figure in front, dressed in yellow, whose face is not shewn, is Ovid. On the left, corresponding with Sappho, is Pindar: in front of him is Horace. Another with his finger on his mouth is probably Callimachus. Behind them is Sanazzaro without a

beard. Two figures crowned with laurel are Tebaldeo and Boccaccio: the latter has no beard, and his hands are hid in his dress. This was painted in 1511.

To represent Jurisprudence, Justinian is drawn giving the digests to Tribonian, and Gregory IX. presenting the Decretals to a Consistory. The Decretals were published in five books, by Raymond de Pennafort, in 1234, at the command of Gregory IX. and may be considered as the foundation of that code of canon law, which the Church of Rome has acted upon ever since. They form a collection of the Decrees of Councils, and the Rescripts or Decretal Epistles of Popes to questions propounded upon emergent doubts relative to matters of discipline and ecclesiastical ceremony*. The Pope himself is a portrait of Julius II. near to him are John Cardinal de Medici, afterwards Leo X. Antonio Cardinal del Monti, Alessandro Cardinal Farnese, afterwards Paul III.

The fourth room, which was painted about 1517, contains subjects taken from the lives of those popes, who bore the same name with the reigning pontiff. The principal painting is the Fire of Borgo S. Pietro, which took place under the pontificate of S. Leo IV. in the ninth century. Borgo S. Pietro is that suburb of Rome which lies near St. Peter's: the fire came near the Vatican, and Leo extinguished it miraculously with

* Hallam's Middle Ages.

the sign of the cross. The front of old St. Peter's is introduced, with steps leading up to it, and the balcony for the papal benediction. This painting is by many admired as much as any of the series: for delineation of feeling and anatomical accuracy it certainly merits every attention. The latter excellence may be seen particularly in two figures, one of whom is clinging by his hands to a wall, from which he is letting himself down, the other is drawing himself up: in both of which opposite exertions of the muscles great accuracy of drawing is observed. The groupe of the man carrying off his father is by Giulio Romano.

Opposite to this is the Justification of S. Leo III. before Charlemagne; in which the Pope is a portrait of Leo X. and Charlemagne of Francis I. King of France. On one of the other sides is the Victory gained by Leo IV. over the Saracens at Ostia, painted by Giovanni da Udine; opposite to which is the Coronation of Charlemagne, by S. Leo III. in the old cathedral: this was painted by Pierino del Vaga. The ceiling is by Perugino.

Other parts of the room contain paintings of those princes, who have been benefactors to the holy see. Over one of them is written "*Astulphus Rex sub Leone IV. Pont. Britanniam Beato Petro vectigalem facit.*" S. Leo IV. reigned from 847 to 855, during which time Ethelwolf was King of England. Hume tells

us, that he made a journey to Rome, and gave 300 *manuses*¹ a year to the see of Rome. One third of this was to support the lamps of St. Peter's; another third those of St. Paul's; and the remaining third was to go to the Pope himself². Some writers say, that it was Ethelwolf who agreed at this visit to pay the tribute to the see of Rome, which was called Peter's Pence, and which was continued till the time of Henry VIII. The inscription in the Vatican seems to agree with this: but others contend, that the payment of Peter's Pence was established in the reign of Ina in 740. Over another figure in this room is "*Dei non hominum est Episcopos judicare.*"

These figures are said to have suffered, when Rome was pillaged in 1527. Carlo Maratta was employed by Clement XI. to restore them, as well as to clean all the rest. Some of the heads were restored by Bastiano; and an anecdote is told of Titian, who, going to view these paintings in company with Bastiano himself, asked him, who that presumptuous and ignorant person could be who had daubed over those faces³.

The rooms adjoining to these contain the tapestries, for which Raffael painted the Cartoons, now in Hampton Court: there are also other tapestries, from designs by Raffael, the originals of which are probably lost. Leo X. had them

¹ A *mancus* is about half-a-crown. ² William of Malms-

bury, lib. ii. c. 2. ³ Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 284.

executed at Arras in Flanders, from whence the name is derived which this sort of work frequently bears. They cost 70000 crowns of gold. They were all carried off when Rome was plundered by the Spanish army in 1527: but Montmorenci, the French general, found them, and restored them to the Pope. The one which represents Elymas struck blind by St. Paul, returned much mutilated. They were carried away again at the end of the last century, and the present Pope repurchased them. When the tapestries were executed at Arras, the Cartoons were suffered to remain there, from whence they were purchased by Charles I. The number was originally twelve, but only seven are now in existence.

For the sake of regularity, I shall now quit this part of the Vatican, and descend to the apartments of the statues. The entrance is by a long gallery, in the walls of which are let in a variety of ancient inscriptions in Latin and Greek. The length of this gallery is about 331 yards. The inscriptions on the left hand are mostly relating to the early Christians. Among those of the ancient Romans, few points are more striking than the gross mistakes in grammar and orthography which are to be found in many of the epitaphs. Some of those which are in verse bid equal defiance to the laws of metre. A great proportion of these epitaphs relate to freedmen, and such persons whose names prove them to be of Greek origin; and some of the mistakes are such as a Greek, who had learnt the Latin

language imperfectly, would be likely to make. A copy of some of these inscriptions may perhaps afford amusement.

DIIS MANIBVS
CLAVDIAE. PISTES
PRIMVS. CONIVGI
OPTVMAE. SANCTAE
ET. PIAE. BENEMERITAE
NON. AEQVOS. PARCAE. STATVISTIS. STAMINA. VITAE
TAM. BENE. COMPOSITOS. POTVISTIS. SEDE. TENERE
AMISSA. EST. CONIVX. CVR. EGO. ET. IPSE. MOROR
SI. FELIX. ESSEM. PISTE. MEA. VIVERE. DEBVIT
TRISTIA. CONTIGERVN. QVI. AMISSO. CONIVGE. VIVO
NIL. EST. TAM. MISERVN. QVAM. TOTAM. PERDERE. VITAM
NEC.VITAE.NASCI.DVRA.PEREGISTIS.CRVDELIA.PENSA.SORORES
RVPTAQVE. DEFICIVNT. IN. PRIMO. MVNERE. FVSI
O. NIMIS. INIVSTAE. TER. DENOS. DARE. MVNVS. IN. ANNOS
DECEPTVS. GRAVIVS. FATVM. SIC. PRESSIT. EGESTAS
DVM. VITAM. TVLERO. PRIMVS. PISTES. LVGEA. CONIVGIVM

D. M. —
OTTEDIAE. ZMYRNAE. CONIVG. B. M. Q. V. ANN. XVI
M. VIII. C. SALVIVS. ABASCANTVS. FECIT. ET. SIBI. ET
SVIS. POSTERISQVE. EORVM
HIC IACEO INFELIX ZMYRNA PVELLA TENEBRIS
QVAE ANNOS AETATIS AGENS SEX ET DECEMENSIBVS OCTO
AMISI LVCEM ANIMAM ET RAPVERVNT FATA INIQVA
CASTIOR VT PROBIOR SERVATIO VLLA MARITO
TE PRECOR HOC QVI RELEGES SIPI^ΗΛS HABET VLL^ΗOCVM^Υ
SIC SIMILE TITVLVM ^ΑΛΤIS NON SCRIBERET OSSIS
DISCEDENS DIC ZMYRNA ^ΙΧΕ ITERVM TERET
IN ^{ΩΩΩ}

^Υ I presume this is meant for SI PIETAS HABET VLLA LOCVM.

TV. NE. VELLIS. ALIENA. MEMBRA
 INQVITARE. IACENTIS. DOLIES
 COMPARABIT. SIBI. QVOD. SINO
 CVERIS. NOCEBERIS. AB. ALIO

NOMEN QVI RETINES TV
 MAGNVS ALEXANDER
 PALLADOS INVENTVM
 MEDICINALEMQVE LABOREM
 QVOT FECI STVDIO PRO
 XIMVS IPSE MEO
 TESTOR NVNC SVPEROS NON
 HOC MERVISSE VIDEBAR
 INVOLVENS CENORIS QVOT
 SVBITO DECIDIMVS
 INVNC ET DVBIAS FATORVM
 NECLEGE CLADES
 CONIVNX QVOD POTVIT TIBI
 TVM MIHI REDDIDIT VNI

VITRIA. PHRYNE. VIXIT. TERSENNOS. ANNOS
 CARA. MEIS. VIXI. SVBITO. FATALE. RAPINA
 FLORENTIEM. VITA. SVSIVLIT. ATRA. DIES
 OC. TVMVLO. NVNC. SVM. CINERES. SIMVL. NAMQVE. SACRATI
 PER. MATREM. CARAM. SVNT. POSITIQVE. MEI
 QVOS. PIVS. SAEPE. COLIT. FRATER. CONIVNXQVE. PVELLAE
 ATQVE. OBITVM. NOSTRVM. FLETIBVS. VSQVE. LGENT
 DI. MANES ME VNVM RETINETE. VT. VIVERE. POSSINT
 QVOS. SEMPER. COLVI. VIVA. LIBENTE. ANIMO
 VT. SINT. QVI. CINERES. NOSTROS. BENE. FLORIBVS. SERTI
 SAEPE. ORNENT. DICAT. SIT. MIHI. TERRA. LEVIS

CLAVDIAE LAIDI VXORI
 CVM QVA VIXI ANN XXIII
 CLAVDIAE STVRE HELENE
 VXORICVM QVEM VIVO AB
 INFANTIA SINE CONTVMELIAS
 ANN XXXIII
 TI CLAVDIVS
 PANNYCHVS. CVM
 INSCRIBEREM. ARAM
 HABVI ANN LXXXVI

From a stone containing the names of several trades, I copied these :

EXONERATOR CALCARIVS.	A remover of rubbish : a scavenger.
HOLITOR.	A green-grocer.
MAGISTER ADARIARIVS A MINERVA MEDICA.	
CAESARIS PRAESIGNATOR.	
PISTOR MAGNARIVS PEPSIANVS.	A wholesale baker.
NEGOTIANTI VINARIO ITEM.	A wine merchant.
NAVICVLARIO CVR. CORPORIS MARIS HADRIATICI.	Boatman, commissioner of the Adriatic sea company.
INVITATOR.	
NVMVLARIVS.	Banker.
LANIO.	Butcher.
MEDICVS IVMENTARIVS.	Farrier and cow-leech.
MARMORARIVS.	Stone-mason.

In the continuation of this gallery, which contains several statues, &c. the one most deserving of attention is Tiberius sitting, found at Piperno,

and very perfect. After entering the Museo Pio-Clementino, the first object of much interest is the tomb of C. L. Scipio Barbatus, which together with several others was brought here from the tomb of the Scipios. This Scipio was great grandfather of Sc. Africanus, and consul U. C. 456². The sarcophagus itself is of coarse stone, but handsomely carved in the Doric style, with roses between the triglyphs. The inscription is very perfect, and is as follows :

CORNELIVS. LVCIVS. SCIPIO. BARBATVS. GNAIVOD. PATRE
PROGNATVS. FORTIS. VIR. SAPIENSQVE. QVOIVS. FORMA. VIRTVTET. PARISVMA
FVIT. CONSOL. CENSOR. AIDILIS. QVEL. FVIT. APVD. VOS. TAVRASIA. CISAVNA
SAMNIO. CEPIT. SVBIGIT. OMNE. LOVCANA. OPSIDESQV. ABDOVCIT

In the same room is the Torso di Belvedere, so much esteemed by Michael Angelo, and all succeeding sculptors. Little more than the mere trunk is remaining; but even without being a sculptor, it is impossible not to admire the execution. It seems to have been a Hercules, and the name of the sculptor, Apollonius, son of Nestor, an Athenian, still remains. Winkelmann is enthusiastic in its praise, and thinks that it comes nearer to the sublime than the Apollo Belvedere. He considers the figure to have been sitting, with the right arm over the head, and in a state of repose after labour. He places Apollonius among the sculptors who lived after the time of Alexander^a.

The first statue we come to of any celebrity is

^a Vid. Liv. lib. x. c. 11.

^a Lib. vi. c. 4. §. 50.

a Meleager, formerly in the Palazzo Pighini. The left hand is wanting, but otherwise it is very perfect. On the right of the figure is a dog, on the left a boar's head.

Outside of the window is a stone with twelve sides, on each of which the name of a wind is written in Greek and Latin. It was found in the Baths of Titus. There is one also at Gaeta: and two others have been described by Paciardi^b and Foggini^c: to which we may add the Temple of the Winds at Athens, of which Stuart has given many engravings in his first volume. Different opinions were entertained by the ancients as to the number and names of the winds. Some made them only eight; but in general they were considered to be twelve. It would appear from the names, that the Greeks first raised the number to twelve, and that the Romans either translated some of them, or applied local names, which in some cases has caused confusion. The ancient authors who have treated upon the subject, and given us the names of the winds, are, Pliny^d, Seneca^e, Aul. Gellius^f, Vitruvius^g, Vegetius^h, and Straboⁱ. Besides the testimony of these writers, we have the tower of Cyrrhestes at Athens still remaining, on the eight sides of which the names of eight winds are engraved. A. Gellius also gives the names of only eight

^b Monum. Pelop. tom. i. §. 7. p. 215.

^c P. 173 and 408.

^d Lib. ii. c. 46. ^e Nat. Quæst. lib. v. c. 16.

^f Lib. ii. c. 22.

^g Lib. i. c. 6. ^h De Re Mil. lib. iv. c. 38.

ⁱ Lib. i.

winds, but he does not agree with the tower at Athens, as may be seen by the following table:

ATHENS.	A. GELLIUS.
N. . . <i>Boreas</i> ^h . . .	Septemtrio, <i>Aparctias</i> .
NE. . . <i>Cæcias</i> . . .	Aquilo, <i>Boreas</i> .
E. . . <i>Apheliotes</i> . . .	Eurus, Subsolanus, <i>Apheliotes</i> .
SE. . . <i>Eurus</i> . . .	Vulturnus, <i>Euronotus</i> .
S. . . <i>Notus</i> . . .	Auster, <i>Notus</i> .
SW. . . <i>Lybs</i>	Africus, <i>Lybs</i> .
W. . . <i>Zephyrus</i> . . .	Favonius, <i>Zephyrus</i> .
NW. . . <i>Sciron</i> . . .	Caurus, <i>Argestes</i> .

Different countries undoubtedly used different terms, or affixed different significations to the same term; and as Pliny tells us that *Sciron* was a name known only at Athens, and that the wind so called was very little different from the *Argestes*, we need not be surprised that the tower at Athens and the Roman author do not exactly agree. Vitruvius also only recognizes eight winds; but I have not included him in the above comparison, because he tells us, that he follows the tower of Cyrrhestes, and the only difference is, that he substitutes the Latin for the Greek names, of which I shall take notice presently.

Pliny, Seneca, and Vegetius, all agree in making twelve winds: they also agree in their man-

^h In this account of the winds, I mean all those words which are in Italics to stand for the Greek terms.

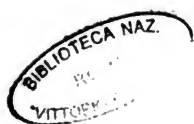
ner of dividing the heavens. They divide the East and West each into three points, according to the direction in which the sun rises and sets in the summer and winter solstices, and at the equinox. They also divide the North and South each into three points, but do not give any name to the two which are on either side of the North and South. With respect to the names of the winds that blow from each of these points, they do not exactly agree. The annexed scheme represents the circle divided according to their system, to each of which divisions I have affixed the name of the wind, with its Greek and Latin term. Where the authors differ with one another, I have followed the majority: but I have taken no notice of Strabo, because he contradicts all the rest, and must evidently be wrong. He places *Eurus* at ENE; *Apheliotes* at ESE; *Zephyrus* at WNW; and *Argestes* at WSW. Nor can we suppose his text to be corrupt, because he mentions Aristotle, Timosthenes, and Bio, as differing from him; and the names which they give are placed exactly as they are by the writers quoted above.

We find other names of winds occurring in ancient authors, which were peculiar to certain countries, such as

Altanus, to the W. of S. (Vitruvius.)

Atabulus. Apulia. (Seneca and Pliny.)

Carbas: nearly E. (Vitruvius.)



Catagis. Pamphylia. (Seneca.)

Circius. Gaul. (Seneca, Pliny, A. Gellius.) Vegetius puts it at NWN.

Iapyx. Calabria. (Seneca.) Apulia. (A. Gellius, who says that it is nearly the same as Caurus.) Vegetius makes it WNW. as he does Favonius.

Meses, between *Boreas* and *Cæcias*. (Pliny.)

Olympias, nearly the same as Sciron. (Pliny.)

Sciron. Athens. (Tower of Cyrrhestes, Seneca.

Pliny tells us, that it is nearly the same as *Argestes*: and so A. Gellius makes it.)

Subvesperus. S. of W. (Vitruvius.)

The room, which has caused this digression, leads into an octagonal court, filled with statues, bas-reliefs, marble pillars, immense baths of granite, porphyry, &c. which are all interesting, but contain nothing peculiarly worth mentioning. In some of the bas-reliefs the battle between Theseus and the Amazons is described; in which it will be observed, that those warlike dames have not submitted to the operation which is generally said to have given them their name. The same may be observed throughout the frieze containing the same subject, amongst the Phigalian marbles in the British Museum. Mitford, in his *History of Greece*¹, has a judicious note upon the story of the Amazons: he says, "that Amazon was a

¹ Vol. x. p. 400.

"Greek name signifying *breastless*, appears to "have been a late and an unfounded imagination." He also remarks, that Herodotus calls these women *Amazonids*^m, thus implying, that he considered the name Amazon as applicable to men equally as to women. This latter remark however does not contain so much force as it appears to do. For though Herodotus uses the term *Amazonids* in this place, yet every where else he calls them as usual *Amazons*, and evidently considers them as women".

Out of this court are the rooms containing the most celebrated statues. In the first are three modern ones by Canova. They were placed here while the ancient ones were at Paris; and since the restoration of the latter, they have not been removed. Standing thus by the side of the noblest works of ancient sculpture, they must necessarily challenge a comparison. In the Perseus, which is the finest of the three, some imitation of the Belvedere Apollo may perhaps be observed. The other two are Creugas and Damoxenus, of whom the following story, as related by Pausanias^o, is perhaps necessary to understand their attitudes. Creugas and Damoxenus, two noted pugilists, the former of Dyrrachium, the latter of Syracuse, had fought all day without coming to any decision. They at length agreed that each should stand to receive the

^m 'Αμαζόνιδας, lib. ix. c. 27.

^a E. g. lib. iv. c. 110.

^o Lib. ii.

blow of the other, in whatever part it might come. Creugas accordingly let his fist fall upon the head of his antagonist. Damoxenus then told him to keep his hand still; and running at him with the fingers of his own hand stretched out, he thrust them into his side, and drew them out again, followed by the bowels of his rival. Creugas immediately died; but the prize was adjudged to him, and Damoxenus was banished.

In these two figures there is vast force of expression, but it is not pleasing, and the attitude of one of them seems very unnatural. The colour of these statues cannot fail to be observed: it is noticed in all Canova's works, and he is said to use some preparation, to take off from the fresh appearance of the marble. The ancients seem to have had some custom of this kind. Vitruvius tells us^p, that a preparation of wax and oil was laid upon the statues in a liquid state with a brush: when the marble was thus covered, fire was applied to it, and afterwards it was rubbed with tallow (*candela*) and linen. But he does not say, whether this was done, to give a brightness to new statues, or to repolish old ones. Pliny certainly says^q, that when the statues were finished, they were rubbed over with a stone called *Naxos*, (because it was prepared at Naxos in Crete, but it came from Cyprus.) Af-

^p Lib. vii. c. 9.

^q Lib. xxxvi. c. 7.

terwards emery and tripoli were used, and last of all the instrument was passed over the whole of them.

In the other room is the Belvedere Antinous, though some have lately changed its name to Mercury without much reason. The wings, the Caduceus, and every other emblem of Mercury, are wanting. The countenance also certainly resembles that which is usually given to Antinous. If this notion be correct, we may fairly cite this statue, as a proof that the arts were still flourishing, and that there were sculptors almost equal to any of their predecessors in the time of Adrian. In fact, we know that the arts, which had languished and were fast approaching to decay under the preceding emperors, experienced a temporary revival under Trajan and Adrian. The latter in particular encouraged architecture and sculpture through the whole of his dominions. Athens was embellished by him with splendid edifices, and sculpture once more found a congenial soil in Greece. Though we may ridicule or pity him for raising statues to Antinous as a god, yet there is no doubt that great encouragement must have been given to talent, in attempting to please the emperor by representations of his favourite. The Villa at Tivoli and the Mausoleum at Rome were alone enough to call forth genius: and the accounts we have of them, as well as the actual remains, shew that the call was obeyed.

With respect to Antinous, of whom so many busts are in existence, we know that he was a native of Bithynia. He died A. D. 129, being drowned in the Nile, and it was believed, that he offered himself a voluntary sacrifice for Adrian. For that emperor having consulted the Augurs was told, that he should learn his destiny in the entrails of a victim, which was dearest to him. Upon which Antinous offered himself, and was drowned in the Nile. Adrian built a city on the spot, and called it after the name of his favourite: his statues and busts were spread in every country, and divine honours were very generally paid to him^r.

The celebrated Visconti thought the statue to be a Mercury. It has also been called Meleager, and was found near the church of S. Martino, upon the Esquiline hill, in the sixteenth century, during the reign of Paul III. and not in the Mausoleum of Adrian, as some have said. It is a most beautiful statue, but the right arm and left hand are wanting.

The Laocoon occupies another apartment. This wonderful groupe astonishes more and more upon every inspection; and though not so pleasing as the Apollo, it will perhaps be considered a more surprising effort in a sculptor to

^r A Treatise has been written upon the worship of Antinous by Riencourt, where all the places are mentioned, where it was introduced, and the authors who make any mention of it. Vide Dio, lib. lxxix. Spartianus and Aurelius Victor.

have produced the Laocoon. It was found in the baths of Titus during the pontificate of Julius II. and some account of it may be seen in an original letter still extant from Cesare Trivulzio to Pomponio Trivulzio, dated July 1506¹. The place of its discovery seems clearly to identify it with that which is described by Pliny². He represents the whole groupe as being cut out of one block, and gives it the preeminence over every other work of sculpture. His words are these: “Deinde multorum obscurior fama est, quorundam claritati in operibus eximiis obstante numero artificum, quoniam nec unus occupat gloriam, nec plures pariter nuncupari possunt: sicut in Laocoonte, qui est in Titi Imperatoris domo, opus omnibus et picturæ et statuariæ artis præferendum. Ex uno lapide eum et liberos draconumque mirabiles nexus de consilii sententia fecere summi artifices Agesander et Polydorus et Athenodorus Rhodii.” Winkelman supposes Agesander to have been father of the other two, and to have lived about the time of Alexander³. A Roman citizen, by name Felice de Fredis, (who has a monument in the church of Ara Celi,) has the honour of discovering this precious relic in the

¹ Lettere Pittoriche, vol. iii. p. 321.

² Lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

³ Lib. vi. c. 3. §. 9. If so, it is by no means improbable, that the three figures are portraits of the three sculptors.

year 1506, and he refused to sell it to the Cardinal of S. Pietro in Vincoli for 600 scudi. The Pope however was more successful, and erected a kind of chapel for it in the grounds of Belvedere. Winkelmann informs us^x, that Julius II. had assigned a pension to Fredis and his son upon the duties payable at the gate of St. John Lateran. Leo X. restored these duties to the church, and gave Fredis the office of apostolic secretary. This was in 1517.

Michael Angelo denied Pliny's assertion of its being cut out of one block. Giovangelo and Michael Christofano, two celebrated sculptors, agreed in this opinion, and pointed out three or four joinings, but they were united so admirably, that it would require a most experienced person to discover them. Winkelmann, speaking of the ancients joining different parts of their statues together, says, that we may see a piece of iron used for this purpose in the Laocoon, where it is placed behind the base^y. But his annotator Fea says, that there is no such piece of iron to be discovered in this groupe, except one, which connects the left arm of the father with the right arm of one of his sons, where the marble had been broken; but this, he says, is not ancient. He adds^z, that three separate pieces can be clearly made out: the figure of the eldest son, which is

^x Lib. vi. c. 3. §. 10. Note.
to lib. vi. c. 3. §. 11.

^y Lib. iv. c. 7. §. 29.

^z Note

on the left-hand, is one; the upper half of Laocoon himself, down to the knees, is another; and the rest of the groupe seems to be in one. The left foot of the eldest son is longer than the other.

Disputes have arisen as to the author of the Restorations. There is a common report that Michael Angelo began an arm in marble for the larger figure, but left it unfinished, "Because, as he said, he found he could do nothing worthy of so admirable a piece^a." Winkelmann asserts this, and adds, that he had intended to make the arm bend back, so as to come over the head of the statue. It is certain, that an arm of this kind formerly lay near the statue, but whether it was the work of Michael Angelo is at least doubtful. Winkelmann makes Bernini to have formed the arm, which we now see in *Terra Cotta*. Heyne^b denies this, alleging for his reason, that Bernini was not born till 1598; but in the engraving of the groupe, published by Marliani in 1544, the figure is represented as restored. This however is no direct evidence against Bernini, as the engraver may have supplied the deficiency from his own imagination, or Bernini's restoration may have succeeded to a former one. We have however some certain

^a Spence's Anecdotes, p. 86.

^b In his Collection of Essays upon different subjects of antiquity.

evidence upon the subject. Vasari in his *Life of Baccio Bandinelli*, tells us, that that sculptor made an arm for the figure of Laocoon in wax in the year 1525. He followed this in his own copy of the groupe, which is now at Florence, and it is the same as what Marliani engraved in 1544. Vasari also tells us, that Giovangelo Montorsoli restored the right arm in marble by order of Clement VII. after 1532. This is the arm, of which Winkelmann speaks, as not having been finished, and lying near the statue. It may have been attributed to Michael Angelo, from the similarity of the name. The question still remains, who formed the arm in *terra cotta* which we now see upon the statue? It may have been Bandinelli himself; or it may have been Bernini; but it is not mentioned in either of the lives written of him by his son, and by Baldinucci. We know, that the arms of the two children were restored by Agostino Cornacchini of Pistoja, but they are not much admired. He followed the copy of Bandinelli, and an engraving on wood made by Titian, in which he had turned the figures into three apes, to ridicule Bandinelli, who had boasted of producing a copy superior to the original.

In the Camera Madama are two groupes of the Laocoon: the smaller is of a different design from the famous Laocoon; but the larger groupe is just like it. It has the arm, which is wanting in the other; and Bandinelli followed it in the

copy, which he made of this groupe at the end of the gallery at Florence^c. There was also a gem in the collection at Paris, where the groupe very nearly resembled this ; and the right arm of Laocoon is bent, as M. Angelo intended his restoration to be^d.

Many criticisms have been bestowed upon this work : amongst which it is said, that the father seems to be feeling his own sufferings more than those of his sons ; a remark which does not make the expression really less natural, though it may not be so heroic. Winkelmann admires the statue, for expressing the exact contrary of this. It is however not unjust to say, that the bodies of the father and his sons are relatively out of proportion : for if the sons are viewed separately, they by no means present the idea of boys, but of men ; whereas the father is so much larger, that either he must be a giant, or his sons dwarfs. The height of the whole groupe is eight palms nine inches.

The celebrated passage in Virgil certainly does not apply to this groupe :

at primùm parva duorum
Corpora natorum serpens amplexus uterque
Implicat, et miseros morsu depascitur artus.
Post ipsum, auxilio subeuntem ac tela ferentem,
Corripiunt, spirisque ligant ingentibus ; et jam

^c Spence's Anecdotes, p. 227.

^d It is engraved in the work of Marietti, tom. ii. pl. 95.

Bis medium amplexi, bis collo squamea circum
 Terga dati, superant capite et cervicibus altis.
 Ille simul manibus tendit divellere nodos.

Æn. ii. 213.

Still less does a passage in Petronius Arbiter agree with the work of the Rhodian sculptors. It occurs in his *Satyricon*, c. 89.

infulis stabant sacri

Phrygioque cultu gemina nati pignora
 Laocoonte, quos repente tergoribus ligant
 Angues corusci : parvulas illi manus
 Ad ora referunt ; neuter auxilio sibi,
 Uterque fratri transtulit pias vices,
 Morsque ipsa miseros mutuo perdit metu.
 Accumulat ecce liberum funus parens,
 Infirmus Auxiliator : invadunt virum
 Jam morte pasti, membraque ad terram trahunt.
 Jacet sacerdos inter aras victima
 Terramque plangit.

The preceding chapter contains a discourse upon the decay of the art of painting ; and the Poem, to which these verses belong, seems to be descriptive of a picture, called *The Taking of Troy* : from which we may infer, that the painter certainly did not consult the work of the sculptor for his ideas. Virgil seems in the same manner to have drawn from his own imagination in describing the scene ; or he may have followed writers who preceded him : for Servius quotes

o o

Bacchylides, as having mentioned the story; and adds, that Euphorion wrote a tragedy upon it. We know also, that Sophocles wrote a tragedy, called Laocoon^c: and Lycophron, who was much earlier than Virgil^f, alludes to it^e. In fact, it seems to have been a favourite subject with the ancients. Quintus Calaber has several verses upon it^b: and Hyginusⁱ even tells us, that the names of his two sons were Antiphas and Thymbræus: but Servius calls them Ethron and Melanthus. Hyginus makes Laocoon to have been son of Acætes and brother of Anchises, whereas Tzetzes^k calls him son of Antenor. What is more extraordinary, even the snakes have found names: for Lycophron calls one Porces, and Tzetzes tells us, that the other's name was Charibæa.

In the last room of this series is the celebrated Belvedere Apollo, of which so much has been said, and every description fails in conveying an adequate idea of its extraordinary beauty. It was found at Antium towards the end of the fifteenth century. The fingers of the right hand are in plaister; and the left hand is a modern restoration by Govanangelo Montorsoli: the right arm and leg are ancient, but have been badly joined on, so that the knee seems rather

^c Vide Harpocration in 'Αγυρίαι. ^f He flourished 304, A. C.
^e Cassandra, v. 347. ^b 388—409. ⁱ Fab. 135. ^k Ad Lycophron.

turned in. Both ankles have been broken; and an accident, which happened to it in its journey from Paris, has been clumsily repaired.

A variety of opinions has been expressed as to the character in which Agasias meant to represent Apollo. Spence¹ conceived him to be a hunter. Visconti recognizes a statue, made by Calamis, and described by Pausanias^m, which the Athenians erected to Apollo in his medical capacity after the great plague. Other opinions are, that he has just defeated the giant Tityus; that he has just expended all his arrows against the Achæans; that he has been slaying the giants, Niobe, and her children, or the faithless Coronis. Such are some of the conjectures, to which this wonderful statue has given riseⁿ. The prevailing opinion however is, that he has just slain the serpent Python, and this is the idea of Winkelmann. He certainly appears to have just discharged an arrow: the fragment of a bow is in his left hand, (though this perhaps is modern :) a quiver is on his back, and his feet are exactly in the attitude of a person, who has drawn his bow, and is watching the progress of his arrow. A snake is twisted round the trunk, on which his right arm rests.

Winkelmann is elevated into a strain of enthusiasm in describing this statue, which perhaps nothing but the Apollo Belvedere would save

¹ Polymetis, Dial. viii. p. 87. ^m Lib. i. c. 3. ⁿ Vid. Winkelmann, lib. vi. c. 6. s. 51, &c.

from being called rhapsody. He thinks it probable, that it was one of the numerous statues, which were brought from the temple at Delphi by Nero. I have read somewhere, but cannot remember the authority, that it has been supposed to be the statue, which the Carthaginians carried off from the temple of Æsculapius at Agrigentum, and which was restored by Scipio.

After all these conjectures as to the design and history of this unrivalled statue, it remains that we should notice an opinion, which some have ventured to entertain, that after all it is merely a copy. They observe, that the marble is from the quarries at Carrara, not from those of Paros: and Pliny says^o, that the quarries of Luna (i. e. Carrara) had not been discovered long before his time, but that the marble was much whiter than that of Paros. It appears however from his own work^p, that they were open in the time of Julius Cæsar.

The height of the Apollo is exactly nine palms, eight *oncie*, or with the plinth nine palms, eleven *oncie*.

Out of this court we pass into a larger apartment, filled with various animals of Greek and Roman sculpture. The floor is composed of curious and handsome Mosaics, mostly found at Palestrina, the ancient Præneste. We know, that the sculptors of Greece paid particular attention to the study of animals, and some of

^o Lib. xxxvi. c. 4.

^p Ibid. c. 7.

them excelled particularly in this department. Calamis was celebrated for representing horses^q, and Nicias for dogs^r. We may find mention of dogs particularly well executed in other passages of Pliny^s. The cow of Myron is well known^t: and Praxiteles had a living lion placed before him for him to copy^u. Out of Rome, we need only mention the lion at Venice, which came from the Piræus at Athens, and the boar at the entrance of the gallery at Florence.

Amongst the animals, one groupe is sure to be observed, which is repeated more than once in this collection, and is called *Mithras*. With little variation they all consist of the following figures. A man with his head turned back rests his left knee upon a bull, while he places his left hand upon the bull's nose, and with his right plunges a sword into the bull's right shoulder: a dog licks up the blood, which falls; a serpent is represented below and an eagle above. The whole is a Persian allegory, and one of the interpretations is as follows. Mithras was the title of the sun. The bull is the earth, which Mithras or the sun is fertilizing with heat, and penetrating with his influence in the sign of Taurus. The dog denotes, that all things are nourished by the sun's influence upon the earth, besides which *Canis* is properly placed next to *Taurus*.

^q Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. ^r Ibid. lib. xxxv. c. 11. ^s Vid. lib. xxxiv. c. 7, and 19. lib. xxxv. c. 10. ^t Vid. Plin. lib. xxxiv. c. 8. ^u Ibid. lib. xxxvi. c. 5.

The bull's tail terminates in ears of corn, to denote fecundity. De la Chausse, who has described this museum², says of another part of this groupe, "*Virtus Solaris in Tauro invalescens incipit deficere in Cancro, virtusque genitalis paulatim in illo comprimitur.*" Another writer says, "*Scorpium juxta Genitalia ad Solem in Scorpio refert, mense scilicet Octobri, quo semina remisso vigore propter frigus concluduntur.*"

This room leads into a long gallery, filled with statues and other antiquities, many of which are much deserving of notice. Two sitting figures, Posidippus and Menander, are perhaps most so. The recumbent figure at the opposite end, which has been called a Cleopatra and an Ariadne by different critics, is also a chef-d'œuvre. The name of Cleopatra has been given to it, because the bracelet has resemblance to a serpent. The head is modern.

At one extremity is a great collection of busts, some of which are known, but a great number are not so. We need not be astonished at the immense quantity of ancient busts which have been discovered. Pliny tells us³, that in his time it was a common custom to change the heads of illustrious persons and fit on new ones: so that the trade of making busts must have been one which was in great request. Besides this, even in the finest statues it was sometimes cus-

² Museum Romanum, 2 vol. Roma 1746.

³ Lib. xxxv. c. 2.

tomary to work the heads separate from the rest, and join them on. This is the case in the statues of Niobe and her children at Florence².

The hall of the Muses contains much the best collection of those ladies, which I have seen. They were almost all found in Adrian's Villa by Alexander VI. Besides them, there are several busts of Philosophers, some of which, from having their names and sayings under them, are unquestionably authentic. These are Socrates, Zeno, Periander, Pittacus, Bias, Pericles, Antisthenes, besides many which are mutilated. With respect to the bust of Socrates, it may be curious to shew the exact agreement, which his features bear to the descriptions in ancient authors. "Socrates was said to resemble Silenus in his looks; for he was flat-nosed and bald³." "Now do not be angry with me: he was not handsome, but he resembled you in the flatness of his nose, and in the exterior of his eyes⁴." "A person would be a fool, who was to put such a question as this, Whether any one had a flatter nose than Socrates⁵?"

² Winkelmann, lib. iv. c. 7. s. 10.

³ Schol. in Aristoph. Nub. 223.

⁴ Plato, Theæt.

⁵ Athenæus, lib. v. c. 60. (ed. Sweigh.) The same account also is given by Plato, Sympos.; Lucian, Dial. Mort.; Xenophon, Sympos.; and Synesius, Calvitii Encomium. From a passage in Cicero, it would seem, that there were craniologists in those days; "Zopyrus et stupidum esse Socratem dixit et bardum, quod jugula concava non haberet; obstructas eas partes et obturatas esse dicebat." De Fato, c. 2.

In a circular room out of this, which is 61 feet in diameter and extremely beautiful, is a magnificent cup of porphyry, 46 feet in circumference, found in the Baths of Titus. The sides of the room are ornamented with very fine statues, and the floor contains the largest ancient mosaic extant. It was found at Otricoli, anciently Otriculum, on the road to Florence.

The next room to this is in the shape of a Greek cross, and excessively rich in marbles. Among its contents, the most striking are two Sarcophagi of red porphyry, of a great size, and ornamented with bas-reliefs, which are extremely perfect, but ill executed. One contained the ashes of S. Constantia, daughter of Constantine, and was found in the mausoleum dedicated to her by that emperor, near the church of S. Agnese, without the walls. This is a very curious building, being of a circular form, and ornamented with ancient mosaics. It is thought to have been erected first as a baptistery to the neighbouring church of S. Agnese, which was also built by Constantine, and afterwards to have been converted into a mausoleum to his daughter. The Sarcophagus is probably much older than the time of Constantine. Paul II. was removing it to the Lateran, to serve for his own tomb, when he died; and his successor Sextus IV. restored it to its original place, from whence it was taken to the Vatican. It should be mentioned, however, that some consider the building to be much older, and call it a temple of Bac-

chus. The capitals of the columns^d are certainly in a style of elegance superior to the age of Constantine. Constantia died in 354.

The other Sarcophagus contained the remains of S. Helena, mother of Constantine, and came from her mausoleum upon the road out of the Porta Maggiore. This mausoleum is now called Tor Pignalara. Anastasius IV. removed the Sarcophagus to the Lateran, intending it for his own tomb. Pius VI. moved it to its present place. Some doubts have been raised whether this can really be the Sarcophagus of Helena: for Nicephorus says^e, that she was buried in a round temple, out of the city of Rome, in a marble urn, which was removed two years after to Constantinople. But as Helena died in 327, and Nicephorus did not live till the fourteenth century, later writers have preferred the tradition, which makes this the Sarcophagus of the Empress Saint.

There is an inscription in this room, behind the tomb of Helena, which I have never yet seen cited, but which, if genuine, is of some interest in illustrating a fact, which was doubtful even in the days of Livy. I say, if it be genuine: for from the silence of antiquaries upon the subject, and from the terms of the inscription itself, which is not altogether in the style of ancient epitaphs, I cannot help having suspicions. However, I have never seen the least evidence of its being

^d They are engraved by Desgodetz. ^e Lib. viii. c. 31.

forged, and it holds its place in the Vatican among the most authentic remains. It purports to be the epitaph of Syphax King of Numidia, who was brought to Italy by Scipio Africanus to grace his triumph: but Livy says^f, that he was saved this disgrace by dying at Tibur, whither he had been sent by the Senate. He adds, however, that according to the account of Polybius he actually was led in triumph. Livy's words are these: "Morte subtractus spectaculo magis
 "hominum, quam triumphantis gloriæ Syphax
 "est, Tibure haud ita multo ante mortuus,
 "quo ab Alba traductus fuerat. Conspecta
 "mors tamen ejus fuit, quia publico funere est
 "elatus. Hunc Regem in triumpho ductum
 "Polybius, haudquaquam spernendus auctor,
 "trahit." Polybius adds, that he died in prison. The inscription touches upon this question; and I think that the following copy may be relied upon as preserving the abbreviations and stops exactly as they are in the original.

SYPHAX NVMDIAE REX
 A: SCIPIONE. AFRC. IVR. BEL. CAUSA
 ROM. IN TRIUMPH. SVMORNV
 CAPTIVS. PERDVCTVS
 INTIBVRTINO. TERRI. RELEGATV
 SVAMQSERVIT-V-INANIREVOL.
 SVPREM. D. CLAVSIT
 ETATIS. ANN. XLVIII. M. VI. D. XI
 CAPTIVITS. V. OBRVT
 P. C. SCIPIO. CONDITOSEPVL

^f Lib. xxx. c. ult.

The abbreviations are perplexing, and not usual : but perhaps some of them may be written at length in the following manner.

SYPHAX. NVMDIAE. REX

A. SCIPIONE. AFRICANO. IVRIS. BELLI. CAUSA
ROMAM. IN. TRIVMPHVM. SVVM. ORNANDVM

CAPTIVVS. PERDVCTVS

IN. TIBVRTINORVM. TERRIS. RELEGATVS⁵
SVAMQVE. SERVITVTEM. IN. ANIMO. REVOLVENS

SVPREMAM. DIEM. CLAUSIT

AETATIS. ANNO. XLVIII. MENSE. VI. DIE. XI

CAPTIVITATIS. VI. OBRVTVS

P. C. SCIPIONE. CONDITORE. SEPVLCRI

After all, the question between Polybius and the other Roman historians is not satisfactorily decided by this document, though I should rather cite it on the side of Polybius. The age of Syphax, which unfortunately is not of the slightest importance, is perhaps the only fact proved by it. It may be mentioned, that the inscriptions from the tomb of the Scipios, which are nearly contemporary with the supposed date of this, contain scarcely any abbreviations ; and in a list of the inscriptions found at Tivoli there is no mention of this.

After ascending a very handsome staircase, we come into a room called that of the chariot, from an ancient one of marble, which is preserved

⁵ OR TIBVRTINO. TERRITORIO. *Territorium* is a classical word : vid. Cic. 2. Philip. 40. and Plin. lib. xxix. c. 6.

here. Two horses also in marble are yoked to it, and the whole has the appearance of being very perfect: but unfortunately only the car itself, not the wheels, and the body of one of the horses, are ancient; all the rest are modern additions, but well executed. In some bas-reliefs, which represent the games of the Circus, there are generally some figures lying prostrate under the legs of the horses, which are running. The antiquaries have made out the extraordinary explanation, that they were people, who threw themselves down in the way of the chariots, that the drivers might shew their skill in passing over them. The drivers will also be observed with the reins lapped round their bodies in several folds, a custom which prevailed in the games of the Circus; and which may explain the misfortune, which would otherwise seem difficult to have happened, in the account of the death of Orestes. He is said to have been "rolled from the chariot, "and to have been entangled with the reins^b."

There is here also a Discobolus, which has the name of Myron upon it: but it is not supposed to be the work of that great artist, who flourished in the eighty-seventh Olympiad, and worked chiefly in bronze: it is probably a copy from one of his statues; and we know, that even with the ancients it was a common trick to put the name of some great sculptor upon ordinary statues. Phædrus tells us thisⁱ:

^b Soph. Elect. 748.

ⁱ Lib. v. in prol.

Ut quidam artifices nostro faciunt sæculo,
Qui pretium operibus majus inveniunt, novo
Si marmori ascripserunt Praxitelem suo,
Myronem argento. Plus vetustati nam favet
Invidia mordax, quam bonis præsentibus.

Pliny, when speaking of Myron's works in bronze^k, expressly mentions the Discobolus. Lucian also, who describes it^l, implies that it was in bronze. It was placed in the vestibule of a palace at Athens; and as Lucian mentions having seen it, it was in existence after the reign of Trajan. There is reason to think, that a great abundance of copies was made from it. There is one at Florence, a *torso* in the Capitol, and another in England. This in the Vatican, which is antique with exception of part of the right leg, was found in the Villa Palombaro on the Esquiline hill. The passage in Lucian alluded to above may convince us, that this is really a copy from the celebrated Discobolus of Myron, and from no other; for it is that which Lucian is describing. He makes him stooping down, like one about to throw the quoit, turning his face back towards the hand which holds it; and bending the left foot a little back, as if he was going to rise with the cast. Quintilian also^m seems to allude to the strained attitude of this statue. Some parts of this copy were either not finished, or have suffered by time, as the left

^k Lib. xxxiv. c. 8. ^l Philopseud. s. 18. ^m Inst. lib. ii. c. 13.

foot, the right knee, and part of the neck. When it was found, there was a piece of marble attached to the right thigh, which supported the right arm: this has been removed.

This apartment is the termination of the Museo Pio-Clementino, which it is impossible to have passed through without admiring the magnificence of the two pontiffs, who gave their name to it. The fame of Clement XIV. has however entirely merged in that of Pius VI. who built the Museum, and whose name is placed on almost every article preserved in it. *Munificentia Pii Sexti* meets us at every turn, as do the arms of Braschi, to which family the pope belonged. This certainly exposes Pius VI. to the charge of vanity; and the Romans, who are always given to sarcasm, used it on one occasion as a reproof to their sovereign. In the time of a scarcity, the bread, though it did not rise in price, was greatly reduced in the size of the loaves. The people thought, that part of the revenue might have been better applied to relieve their exigencies, than to ornament the Vatican. Accordingly Pasquin appeared one morning with a loaf in his hand of the smallest dimensions; over which was written *Munificentia Pii Sexti*.

Returning from the room of the Chariot, we enter a gallery, the whole length of which is 1041 feet; but it is not properly one gallery, but a series of rooms, which are open to each other.

Four of them are filled with works of ancient sculpture ; and then comes a gallery, 420 feet in length, the walls of which are painted with maps of different parts of Italy, executed by Ignazio Danti in 1581. These are rudely done, but are well worth examining. This gallery connects with the rooms already described, in which the tapestries of Raffael are hung.



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